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STUDIES IN THE RENAISSANCE

VOLUME VI

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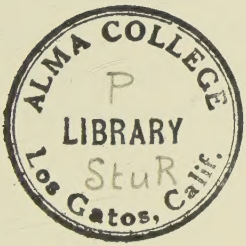
VOLUME VI



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FOREWORD

THE increased size of this issue of *Studies in the Renaissance* reflects the added resources available for publication which flow from the increase in the cost of membership in the society put into effect last year.

The Executive Board wishes to express the gratitude of the society to Arthur A. Houghton, Jr., and Thomas W. Streeter for gifts which, directly or indirectly, have assisted the publication of this volume.

The society is indebted to the following members who, in addition to the Editorial Board, have read some of the material submitted for publication: Leicester Bradner, George A. Kubler, Garrett Mattingly, Millard Meiss, Conyers Read, George O. Seiver.

A seventh volume of *Studies in the Renaissance* may be expected early in 1960. Members who wish to submit papers for the consideration of the Editorial Board are invited to do so without delay. Statements regarding the editorial policy of the board will be found in the foreword to volume IV (1957) and in the minutes of the annual meetings of the Advisory Council.

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Egypt and Egyptian Antiquities in the Renaissance

THE TRUE beginnings of Egyptology and the scientific collecting of Egyptian antiquities in the museums of Europe are properly assigned to the nineteenth century. However, the first signs of interest in the ancient land of the Pharaohs and its fabulous monuments were evident in the time of the Renaissance, for the humanistic regard for the material vestiges of the classical civilizations and the literature of Greece and Rome quite naturally led to an interest in the preclassical civilizations of the near east.

For his knowledge of Egypt and the other ancient oriental civilizations, the Renaissance scholar was greatly dependent on Greek and Roman literature. The records written by the ancient Egyptians, like those of the Babylonians, Assyrians, and Persians, were to remain unread until the efforts of Champollion, Young, Grotefend, Hincks, Rawlinson, and other nineteenth-century scholars revealed their contents. The Old Testament, the only non-classical source of importance, contains numerous references to the ancient peoples with whom the Jews had repeated contact, and because of its incorporation in the Christian biblical canon, the Old Testament was highly valued by Christian Renaissance historians as an important historical source. Arabic, Coptic, and Syrian materials furnished little of value for the history of ancient Egypt, though the *Koran* includes the names of certain Pharaohs taken from the Bible.

Ancient Egypt with its many and massive ruins and the annual inundation of the land by the Nile had been a source of wonder to the Greek and Roman travelers, and thus descriptions of its marvels were often incorporated in their travel books, geographies, and histories. Its mysteries, its antiquity, and its religion had attracted the attention of Greek and Roman philosophers, and descriptions of ancient Egypt occupy a much more prominent place in classical literature than do accounts of the civilizations of the Mesopotamian valley. The titles of more than one hun-

dred works by classical authors dealing with the Egypt of the Pharaohs are known to us today.[1] Unfortunately, many of these were lost, or known only from fragments, long before the Renaissance scholars began to devote their enthusiastic attention to the recovery, restoration, and editing of classical texts.

While there is an abundant manuscript tradition for many of the extant classical works dealing with ancient Egypt, the dissemination of knowledge in the printed editions was a slow and accumulative process. The publication dates of the first editions of some of these works might here be given by way of illustration. Pliny's *Historia naturalis*, with his description of Egypt and its pyramids, was printed as early as 1469. The *History* of Ammianus Marcellinus, containing information on the obelisks of Rome, was published at Rome in 1474. The *Metamorphoses* of Apuleius, with its account of the late form of Egyptian mystery religion, appeared in Rome in 1469 and numerous vernacular translations in the sixteenth century. The works of Josephus, essential because he had preserved extracts from the most important classical writer on ancient Egypt, Manetho, were published in a Latin translation as early as 1470 in Augsburg. The geography of Strabo of Amasia, *De situ orbis*, the last book of which is devoted to Egypt, was printed in Latin as early as 1469 and in Greek at Venice in 1516.

Lorenzo Valla, the great Italian humanist, early translated the *History* of Herodotus into Latin and this was published at Venice in 1474. The *editio princeps* of the Greek text was printed by the elder Aldus in 1502. Besides other Latin and Greek editions, the sixteenth century also saw translations of this important work into German (1535), Italian (1533), French (1556), and English (1584). From the pages of this popular author, who had visited Egypt about 450 B.C., Renaissance scholars learned much of what could be known of the ancient Orient and especially Egypt. The reliability of this work was questioned by François Rabelais, who placed Herodotus among those historians who received their information from 'Hearsay',[2] but the great French scholar and printer,

[1] Cf. Alfred Wiedemann, *Aegyptische Geschichte* (Gotha, 1884), p. 103. A. von Gutschmid lists the works of seventy-nine Greek authors from Hecataeus Milesius, who visited Egypt between 513 and 501 B.C., to Georgius Cerenus of Byzantium, who wrote about 1058 A.D. ('De rerum Aegyptiacarum scriptoribus Graecis', *Philologus* X, 1855, 522–542, 635–700, 712–723). Cf. also Ibrahim-Hilmy, *The Literature of Egypt and the Soudan from the Earliest Times to the Year 1885 Inclusive*, 2 vols. (London, 1886–1887).

[2] *The Five Books of Gargantua and Pantagruel*, Bk. v, xxxi.

Henri Estienne the Younger, wrote in 1566 a defense of Herodotus entitled *Apologie pour Herodote*.

In 1509 the famous Aldine press in Venice printed the first Greek edition of the complete *Moralia* of Plutarch of Chaeronea. This text included his *Isis and Osiris*, which, written in the atmosphere of the mysteries of Delphi between 120 and 130 A.D., is of great value as 'the most complete and coherent statement of Egyptian mythology which has come down to us from the classical age'.[3] Undoubtedly excellent Egyptian sources were available to Plutarch, for nowhere else do we possess such a detailed, full, and particular account of the Isis and Osiris legends. Latin, French, and Spanish translations were made in the sixteenth century.

It was in the time of Pope Eugenius IV (1431–1447) that a manuscript copy of the important *Bibliotheca* of Diodorus Siculus was brought to Italy by Garatone da Trevigi.[4] The first five books of this work, noteworthy for a knowledge of ancient Egypt, were translated by the eminent humanists Poggio Bracciolini and Georgios Trapezuntios and printed in five editions in the fifteenth century. The first Greek edition, consisting only of books XVI–XX, appeared in Basel in 1539. In 1559 the first complete Greek edition of Diodorus, containing books I to V and XI to XXV, was printed by Henri Estienne at Geneva.

A peculiar evidence of the interest of the humanists of the Renaissance in the preclassical civilizations of the near east is the ready acceptance of the falsification of the works of Manetho, Berosus, and others 'discovered' by the Dominican humanist Giovanni Nanni (Annius of Viterbo, *c.* 1432–1502). In July 1498, he published in Rome a collection generally known as *Antiquitatum variarum volumina XVII cum commentariis*. Eight Latin editions and an Italian translation appeared in the sixteenth century. In this forgery, Annius attempted to use his 'authors' to throw light on the early civilizations of Europe. He tried, for example, to show the connection between the ancient wisdom and culture of the Egyptians and that of the Etruscans and Romans. Annius maintains that the Egyptian god-ruler Osiris came to Italy accompanied by his son Hercules Aegyptius and a female muse.[5] Although Marcantonio Coccio Sa-

[3] Wiedemann, *op. cit.*, p. 146.

[4] Georg Voigt, *Die Wiederbelebung des classischen Alterthums*, 3rd ed. (Berlin, 1893), p. 186.

[5] Cf. the 1515 edition (Paris), fols. xxvii–xxviii. In 1518, Johann Stabius, court historian and genealogist, prepared for Emperor Maximilian a 'Stammbaum' which traced his lineage through Noah, Cham, Osiris of Egypt and his son, the Egyptian Hercules. Maxi-

bellico, Petrus Crinitus, and others condemned the falsification, many others readily accepted it.[6]

Classical authors, especially Herodotus, Plato, and Plutarch, had pointed out the primacy of Egypt in matters of religion and wisdom, and the revival of Platonism and Neoplatonism in the Renaissance enhanced the role of Egypt as the original land of theologians and philosophers. In the Neoplatonic tradition, the works ascribed to Hermes Trismegistus, while actually written during and after the third century of our era, were considered by the Renaissance scholars to be ancient Egyptian in origin. The *Corpus Hermeticum*, as translated by Marsilio Ficino and others, gained wide acceptance in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and directed attention to the supposedly vital role of ancient Egypt in philosophy and learning. Hermes Trismegistus was considered by Ficino and others as an ancient Egyptian sage, the first philosopher who raised himself to the contemplation of the divine and who must therefore be regarded as the founder of theology.[7]

Egypt also attracted considerable attention in the Renaissance as the home of a most interesting kind of writing, hieroglyphics.[8] From numerous classical authors, from the writings of Clement of Alexandria, and especially from the many editions of the *Hieroglyphica* of Horapollon (fourth century A.D.), the Renaissance humanists, writers, and artists acquired a knowledge, inaccurate and partial to be sure, of the ancient Egyptian form of writing. The phonetic principle of hieroglyphic writing was ignored completely and only the symbolic significance of the pictographs was considered. Here, the humanists felt, was a new language to master, the key to the vaunted wisdom of Egypt, and a clever device for allegorical and esoteric arrangements of their own. The

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milian found this genealogy 'ziemlich abenteuerlich', though not so much because of the Egyptian ancestors as because of the possible reaction of the theologians to the alleged connection of his family with the Biblical patriarchs (Simon Laschitzer, 'Die Genealogie des Kaisers Maximilian I.', *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* VII, 1888, 39).

[6] Eduard Fueter, *Geschichte der neueren Historiographie* (Munich, 1911), pp. 183, 191, 195, 214, 222–225.

[7] Ficino, *Opera* (Basel, 1561), II, 1836. Cf. also, e.g., Augustinus Steuchus, *De perenni philosophia libri X* (Lyons, 1540), p. 7.

[8] The subject is much too vast to be dealt with here. See especially Karl Giehlow, 'Die Hieroglyphenkunde des Humanismus in der Allegorie der Renaissance, besonders der Ehrenpforte Kaisers Maximilian I.', *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen* XXXII (1915), 1–218, and Ludwig Volkmann, *Bilderschriften der Renaissance* (Leipzig, 1923).

outstanding example of this is the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* of Francesco Colonna, printed at Venice in 1499.

Although the data which the Renaissance scholar had available about Egypt in the classical authors were fragmentary and all too often inaccurate, they were sufficient to arouse curiosity and respect for the ancient civilization of the Nile valley.[9] For example, Philip Melanchthon was able to say, 'Great was the power of the Assyrian monarch, but the fame of Egypt was greater because of its wealth and arts.'[10] Jean Bodin shows interest in Egyptian chronology and cites the Egyptians as among those people from whom 'letters, useful arts, virtues, training, philosophy, religion, and lastly *humanitas* itself flowed upon the earth as from a fountain'.[11]

The knowledge of ancient Egypt gained from the classical authors was supplemented by the reports of travelers. European Jews and Moslems had often traveled in the Orient, and since the earliest days of Christianity, the Holy Land had attracted many pilgrims who wished to walk where Christ's feet had trod and to see the towns and places associated with the stories of the Bible. Many of these also made side-trips to Egypt, a land long familiar for the sites and events described in the Old Testament account of the sojourn in Egypt of the Children of Israel and because of the New Testament story of the flight into Egypt of Joseph, Mary, and the young Jesus.[12] As early as the fourth century Jerome recorded his pilgrimage to the Holy Land and to Egypt, in which country he saw among other things 'both the land of Goshen and the field of Tanis, in which God performed miracles, and the city of No [Thebes]'.[13]

By the time of the Renaissance, trade had long flourished between Europe and Egypt. Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela, Spain, who visited Egypt some time before 1171, wrote that Alexandria was 'very mercantile and affords an excellent market to all nations. People from all Christian kingdoms resort to Alexandria. . . . the city is full of bustle and ev-

9 Cf. Karl H. Dannenfeldt, 'The Renaissance and the Pre-Classical Civilizations', *Journal of the History of Ideas* XIII (1952), 435–449.

10 In his *Chronicon Carionis* (*Corpus Reformatorum*, XII, col. 750).

11 *Io. Bodoni Methodus historica, duodecim eiusdem argumenti scriptorum tam veterum quam recentiorum commentariis adaucta* (Basel, 1576), pp. 331, 105.

12 R. Röhricht and H. Meisner, *Deutsche Pilgerreisen nach dem heiligen Lande* (Berlin, 1880), pp. 38, 430 ff., 522, 535, 537, 541 f.

13 In his *Peregrinatio Sanctæ Paulæ*; cf. *Itinera Hierosolymitana et descriptiones Terræ Sanctæ*, ed. T. Tobler and A. Molinier, I (Geneva, 1879), 39.

ery nation has its own fonteccho there.'[14] It has been estimated that there were no less than 3,000 Frankish merchants in Alexandria in the early part of the thirteenth century.[15] The prohibition against trade with the Saracens which the church imposed on Christian Europe after the fall of Acre in 1291 did not materially decrease the residence and activities of the merchants in the land of the pyramids.[16]

A number of Renaissance humanists also visited Egypt. Ciriaco of Ancona (Ciriaco de' Pizzicoli, *c.* 1390–1452), after an earlier visit to Egypt in the period 1412–1414, was led by curiosity in 1434 to make a nine-day trip up the Nile from Alexandria to the pyramids, where he saw a 'most ancient inscription in Phoenician [*sic*] characters'. Well might he add: 'I think it is unknown to the men of our era on account of the antiquity and the ignorance and disuse of the great and ancient arts.' Copies of these hieroglyphics were sent by Ciriaco to the humanist Niccolò Niccoli, 'a man most interested in this sort of thing', and to the city of Florence itself.[17] The Spanish humanist Nuñez de Guzman visited Egypt just before the middle of the fifteenth century, while Peter Martyr, in the employ of the Spanish rulers, went to Egypt on a diplomatic trip in 1501–1502 and saw the pyramids. Pierre du Chastel traveled up the Nile to Memphis in 1535. Jacob Ziegler, the German humanist, although he did not travel in Egypt and in the Levant area, wrote a work entitled *Terrae Sanctae . . ., Syriae, Arabicae, Aegypti et Schondiae doctissima descriptio* (Mainz, 1536).

Their novel experiences and the sight of so many wonderful places and monuments of antiquity prompted many of the travelers to record their impressions.[18] Reference will be made to some of these contemporary accounts later; here only a few can be described. The early work of Benjamin of Tudela, already cited, was well known in the late middle ages and was printed in Hebrew at Constantinople in 1543, at Ferrara in 1556, at Freiburg in 1583, and in Latin translation in 1575 at Antwerp. Among other things, he records that he saw a marble sepulcher, 'upon which are depicted all sorts of birds and beasts, all in very ancient charac-

[14] *The Itinerary of Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela*, tr. and ed. A. Asher (London and Berlin, 1840), I, 157–158.

[15] A Schaube, *Handelsgeschichte der romanischen Voelker des Mittelmeergebietes bis zum Ende der Kreuzzüge* (Munich, 1906), p. 181.

[16] Wilhelm Heyd, *Geschichte des Levantehandels im Mittelalter* (Stuttgart, 1879), II, 24–68.

[17] *Kyriaci Anconitani . . . itinerarium*, ed. L. Mehus (Florence, 1742), p. 52.

[18] For a bibliography of such works, cf. H. Jolowicz, *Bibliotheca Aegyptica* (Leipzig, 1858).

ters, which nobody can decipher, but it is supposed that it is the tomb of a king of very ancient date, who reigned even before the flood'.[19] Martin Baumgarten of Breitenbach, whose *Peregrinatio in Aegyptum, Arabiam, Palaestinam, et Syriam* was published in Nürnberg in 1594, recorded his visit (1507–1508) to the pyramids and to ancient monuments covered with hieroglyphics.[20] A careful French observer was the traveler Pierre Belon of Mans who made an extensive scientific tour of the Orient from 1546 to 1549. His work of 1553, *Les Observations de plusiers singularitez et choses memorables, trouvees en Grece, Asie, Indie, Egypte, Arabie, et autres pays estranges*, went through a number of editions in the sixteenth century. Chapters XLII–XLVII are devoted to descriptions of and remarks about the three larger pyramids, the many other smaller pyramids and colossi, the Sphinx, the mummies, and the obelisks.[21]

In December 1565 Johann Helffrich of Leipzig toured the pyramid area, dug for mummies, and observed the Sphinx, which he thought was the image of Isis, the wife of Osiris. He further remarks that the head was hollow so that the ancient priests could speak through the mouth and thus deceive the people. With great difficulty he climbed to the top of the Great Pyramid and later entered the opening on the north side and saw the empty sarcophagus of the biblical Pharaoh, who, he thought, instead of being buried there, had been drowned in the Red Sea pursuing the Children of Israel.[22] His account of his Egyptian visit concludes with a short description of the city of Alexandria, mentioning the two obelisks there. The one still standing was covered 'in the manner of the ancient Egyptians with all sorts of hewn bird figures and little animals'.[23]

In the Renaissance, opinion was still divided as to the original purpose of the pyramids. In the fourteenth century, Sir John Mandeville felt that the pyramids were 'Joseph's Barns', and Pero Tafur of Spain (1436)

[19] Benjamin of Tudela, *op. cit.*, p. 158.

[20] *Peregrinatio* (Nürnberg, 1594), pp. 32, 38, 70–71.

[21] P. Belon, *Les Observations* (Paris, 1554), fols. 112–117. Belon's other works, *De admirabili operum antiquorum et rerum suspiciendarum præstantia* (Paris, 1553) and *De arboribus coniferis, resiniferis* (Paris, 1553), also deal with Egyptian antiquities and especially with methods and materials used in mummification.

[22] Samuel Kiechel, who was in Egypt in 1588, repeats the same story of the drowned and unburied Pharaoh. Kiechel started to go into the great pyramid, but became frightened and fled without seeing the empty sarcophagus; cf. *Die Reisen des Samuel Kiechel*, ed. K. D. Haszler, *Bibliothek des litterarischen Vereins in Stuttgart* LXXXVI (1866), 375–380.

[23] Johann Helffrich, *Kurtzer und warhaftiger Bericht von der Reis aus Venedig nach Hierusalem* (Leipzig, 1579), diary form, no pagination.

thought that beasts of burden went up the sides of these 'Granaries of Joseph' and unloaded the grain through 'windows and so they fill the granaries to the top. Certainly I never thought that there was such a great building in the world today.'[24] Arnold von Harff (1497) called them *Kassa Pharaonis* but added, 'Some say they are tombs of the old kings of Egypt'.[25] Others like Belon and Greffin Affagart deny that the pyramids were used as granaries and pronounce them tombs.[26] Among others, Kiechel and Philip Melanchthon thought that the pyramids had been constructed by the Children of Israel during their period of servitude in Egypt.[27]

A popular geographical work of the sixteenth century which contained descriptions of the ruins of Egypt was the *De totius Africae descriptione libri IX* written by Leo Africanus (Alhassan ibn Mohammed Alwazzan, *c.* 1485–*c.* 1554). He had been captured by pirates in 1517 and was later presented to Pope Leo X who permitted him to translate into Italian (1526) the geography which he had originally composed in Arabic. Gian Battista Ramusio incorporated the resultant *Descrizione dell'Africa* in the first volume of his collection of travels, *Primo volume delle navigationi et viaggi* (1550). Later Leo's work appeared in numerous editions and translations.[28] It exhibits unusual accuracy and is notably free of superstition, credulity, and prejudice. Jean Bodin, the French lawyer and political philosopher, frequently refers to the work of Leo in his *Methodus ad facilem historiarum cognitionem* and remarks that Leo 'is the only one who after a thousand years discovered Africa buried in miserable brut-

[24] Mandeville, *Travels*, ed. M. Letts (London, 1953, Hakluyt Society, ser. 2, CI–CII), I, 38; P. Tafur, *Travels and Adventures*, tr. M. Letts (London, 1926), p. 78.

[25] *The Pilgrimage of Arnold von Harff*, tr. and ed. M. Letts (London, 1946, Hakluyt Society, ser. 2, XCIV), pp. 126–127.

[26] Belon, *Les Observations*, fol. 114a; G. Affagart, *Relation de Terre Sainte* (1533–1534), ed. J. Chavanon (Paris, 1902), p. 166. Belon was especially struck by the appearance of the pyramids, for he adds the un-humanistic remark: 'With all of our regard for the Roman antiquities and works of art, we must yet admit, that nothing can be found among them to equal the splendor and grandeur of the pyramids', and 'When one closely observes the ruins and antiquities of Rome, it is evident that the greatest part are of such pieces as were brought there from Egypt, and were finished already in unimaginable time' (*Les Observations*, fols. 113a and 116b).

[27] Kiechel, *op. cit.*, p. 375; Melanchthon, *op. cit.*, XII, col. 751.

[28] See the introduction to the English translation (1600) of John Pory as found in the three-volume edition printed for the Hakluyt Society, *The History and Description of Africa and of the Notable Things therein Contained*, ed. R. Brown (London, 1896, XCII–XCIV). Cf. also Philipp Paulitschke, *Die geographische Erforschung des africanischen Continents*, 2d ed. (Vienna, 1880), p. 42.

ishness and forgotten by us, and revealed it to the attention of everyone'.[29]

In his description of the land of the Nile, Leo is concerned, of course, with the Egypt of his day, but quite frequently he describes the visible remains of ancient Egypt. Of the ancient cities that have large standing ruins, Leo does not mention Thebes nor the great hall of Karnak there, although he passed close by. The temple of Luxor, with its beautiful colonnades, he must have seen, but he had probably become accustomed to the ancient ruins by the time he reached Upper Egypt, for he does not describe the great hall of Amenhotep III there. Memphis, called 'Thebes' by Leo, is described as a place where 'there are yet to be seene most ancient monuments, partly in Latine, partly in Greeke, and partly in Egyptian characters. . . . Without the citie there are many ancient monuments, as namely pillers, inscriptions, and walles of a great thicknes built of excellent stone, and such a number of ruinous places, that this citie seemeth in times past to haue beene very large.'[30]

Gizeh, the Egyptian town nearest the pyramids, is described as the place from which travelers went across the sandy desert to the pyramids and sepulchers of the ancient Egyptian kings. Leo gives no further description of these pyramids. He mentions the ancient buildings at Minieh and writes that at Manfalut 'there are found certaine huge and high pillers and porches, whereon are verses engrauen in the Egyptian toong. Near vnto Nilus stand the ruines of a stately building, which seemeth to haue beene a temple in times past, among which ruines the citizens finde sometimes coine of siluer, sometimes of gold, and sometimes of lead, hauing on the one side hielygraphick notes, and on the other side the pictures of ancient kings.'[31] In a similar manner, Leo pictures the ruins at Asiut, Denderah, Esneh, and Asuan. This last city was the end of Leo's voyage up the Nile, though he mentions that there are many ruins farther to the south.[32]

Although Helffrich included in his narrative a crude drawing of the Sphinx and another of the three pyramids of Gizeh, the first serious attempt to depict the Egyptian monuments was that of Pellegrino Bruc-

[29] Jean Bodin, *Method for the Easy Comprehension of History*, tr. B. Reynolds (New York, 1945), p. 80.

[30] Hakluyt Society ed., XCIV, 867. In his *Liber chronicarum* (Nuremberg, 1493), Hartmann Schedel used for his picture of Memphis (fol. xxii) the picture he used later for Byzantium (fol. lxiii).

[31] Hakluyt Society ed., XCIV, 898–899.

[32] *Ibid.*, pp. 900, 902–904, 911.

cardo of Venice. He was in Egypt in 1557, accompanied by an artist, and made views of Cairo, the pyramids, and hieroglyphic inscriptions.[33] Marco Grimani followed him and also drew the Egyptian monuments. His drawings were published in the third book of the work on architecture by Sebastian Serlio (Venice, 1584).[34] Belon, the naturalist, thought it more important to include pictures of the crocodile, the ichneumon, the viper, and the giraffe in his *Observations*, but André Thévet, the geographer, included a number of pictures relating to Egyptian antiquities. In the first volume of his *Cosmographie universelle* (Paris, 1575) he shows (f. 33b) the two obelisks of Alexandria, one standing and one fallen, covered with huge hieroglyphs (owl, crocodile, crescent moon, arrow, vase, snake, and eye), and also a picture (f. 43a) showing a number of Arabs searching for mummies amid tombs and pyramids which they are attacking with levers and bars. Three cadavers are being taken away on the back of a camel while others lie on the sand awaiting transportation. In his *Cosmographie de Levant* (Lyons, 1556) are pictured a rather small pyramid on a base (p. 153), a cadaver, unwrapped, lying on a tomb (p. 158), and a curly-haired Sphinx (p. 154).

Few of the travelers to Egypt brought back with them objects found in the tombs and sands or, at least, this fact has not been recorded. Samuel Kiechel noticed (1588) that in the bodies of the mummies could be found small figurines of animals and birds and little pictures, some of silver, others of copper, iron, gold, and other metals: 'Because these people were heathen and had many and various idols, it is said that on whatever animal, bird, or picture he believed, the same was placed in the abdomen after his death and disembowelment.'[35] He does not state that he brought any of these objects back to Europe. Ambroise Paré, the French physician, reports that he saw, in the 'cabinet' of André Thévet, 'a small idol of white marble, marked of a certain value, which he affirmed had been brought from the land of Egypt, and which are found in the bodies of mummies'.[36]

Of all the objects of ancient Egyptian civilization, none was the center of more interest than the mummy. A few classical authors, especially Herodotus, Diodorus, and Pliny, had mentioned the Egyptian practice

[33] Johann D. Fiorillo, *Geschichte der zeichnenden Künste*, II (Göttingen, 1801), 55.

[34] *Architettura di Sebastian Serlio Bolognese* (Venice, 1663), pp. 134–135 (obelisks), 171 (pyramid with Sphinx).

[35] Kiechel, *op. cit.*, p. 382.

[36] Ambroise Paré, *Oeuvres completes*, ed. J. Malgaigne, III (Paris, 1841), chap. IV.

of mummification,[37] and thus the scholars of the Renaissance were acquainted with the custom. Unfortunately, the great interest in mummies and the money expended on their procurement were not directed to the acquisition of specimens for study and display, because by the time of the Renaissance mummy had become a highly prized drug. In medical tradition pissasphalt from the near east had long been recognized as a curative drug. In trade it usually was called *mummia*.[38] Since the appearance of this natural pissasphalt was similar to that of the bituminous materials used by the ancient Egyptians in the mummification process, it became the practice to substitute the materials found in the bodies of the Egyptian mummies for the natural product. Abd Allatif, the Arabian historian and physician, writing in Cairo in 1203, remarks, 'The mummy found in the hollows of corpses in Egypt, differs but immaterially from the nature of mineral mummy; and where any difficulty arises in procuring the latter, may be substituted in its stead.'[39] The next step was to substitute the dried flesh of the mummy for the hardened bituminous deposits found in the cavities of the body.

The reputation of *mummia*, of any kind, as a drug was considerable. Avicenna (ibi Sina, 980–1037) found it useful in abscesses, eruptions, fractures, concussions, paralysis, hemicrania, epilepsy, vertigo, spitting of blood from the lungs, affections of the throat, coughs, palpitations of the heart, debility of the stomach, nausea, disorders of the liver and the spleen, internal ulcers, and cases of poison. It was especially good for contusions. It was to be administered in decoctions of marjoram, thyme, elder, barley, roses, lentils, jujubes, cummin seed, caraway, saffron, cassia, parsley, oxymel, wine, milk, butter, castor, syrup of mulberries, etc.[40] Matthaeus Platearius of the twelfth century devotes considerable attention to mummy,[41] while Matthaeus Silvaticus (*fl.* 1344) includes

[37] Warren R. Dawson, 'References to Mummification by Greek and Latin Authors', *Aegyptus* IX (1928), 106–112; *idem*, *A Bibliography of Works Relating to Mummification in Egypt* (Cairo, 1929, *Mémoires de l'Institut d'Egypte* XIII).

[38] W. Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant au Moyen-Age*, II (Leipzig, 1886), 635; Du Cange, *Glossarium mediæ et infimæ latinitatis*, IV (Paris, 1845), 573.

[39] *Extracts from the Relations Respecting Egypt by Abd Allatif*, in John Pinkerton, *A General Collection of the Best and Most Interesting Voyages and Travels in all Parts of the World*, XV (London, 1814), 817.

[40] Avicenna, *Canon medicinae* (Venice, 1608), pp. 357, 151; Thomas J. Pettigrew, *A History of Egyptian Mummies* (London, 1834), p. 9.

[41] Cf. the French translation of his *Liber de simplici medicina dictus Circa instans*, ed. Paul Dorveaux (Paris, 1913), pp. 120–121 (Nos. 700–704).

mummia in his *Liber pandectarum medicine*.[42] The commentaries on Dioscorides Pedanius (*fl.* first century?) by Petrus Andreas Mattiolus (Pierandrea Mattioli, 1500–1577) also describe the use of mummy.[43]

A considerable market in mummy and mummies, whole or in fragments, developed. Abd Allatif reports (1203) that the inhabitants of Egypt transported mummy to Cairo, 'where it is sold for a trifle. For half a dirhem I purchased three heads filled with the substance . . . This mummy is black as pitch. I observed, when exposed to the strong heat of the sun, that it melts.'[44] Another Arab writer observed in 1424:

> In the month of Rebi second, 827, people who had made a large pile of human corpses were discovered in Cairo. They were brought before the provost, who had them tortured until they confessed that they were removing the corpses from tombs and were boiling the dead bodies in water over a very hot fire until the flesh fell off; that they then collected the oil which rose to the surface of the liquid to sell it to the Franks, who paid twenty-five pieces of gold a hundredweight for it. They were put in prison and people forgot all about it. Everybody saw the corpses and the receptacles containing the oil, for they were taken to the Sultan for him to see them, and they were taken through the whole city.[45]

Helffrich reports that while in Egypt in 1565 he and his party with the aid of two natives dug the sand out of tombs in a fruitless search for mummies. The natives of Egypt, he says, 'seek them with all energy, for they sell them to the merchants at Alcair, by whom they are further sold. Some of the Moors also eat them.'[46] Kiechel also mentions (1588) the mummies which the Arabs daily brought to the bazaar in Cairo to sell. He himself did not go to the burial places because of the danger of robbers. His description of the mummies is concluded with the remark that entire bodies could be bought in Cairo.[47] Belon includes in his remarks about the Egyptian mummies that Francis I of France always carried with him a little package of mummy mixed with ground rhubarb as an immediate remedy for any injury.[48]

The traffic in mummy was of such proportion that some of the merchants resorted to fraud. Ambroise Paré (1510–1590) reveals cases of fraud both in Egypt and in France. He relates how his friend Guy de la

[42] Silvaticus, *Liber pandectarum medicine* (Venice, 1480), cap. 555.

[43] Matthiolus, *Commentarii in libros sex Pedacii Dioscoridis Anazarbei, de medica materia* (Venice, 1554), p. 79.

[44] Abd Allatif, *op. cit.*, p. 816.

[45] Silvestre de Sacy, *Chrestomathie Arabe*, II (Paris, 1826), 54.

[46] Helffrich, *op. cit.*, on 11 December.

[47] Kiechel, *op. cit.*, p. 382.

[48] Belon, *Les Observations*, fol. 117.

Fontaine, physician to the king of Navarre, investigated the trade in mummy while in Alexandria in 1564. The merchant, a Jew, showed him more than thirty bodies. Further inquiry by la Fontaine as to the ancient method of burial and preservation led the merchant to tell him that the bodies before him had been indiscriminately collected and prepared by himself during the last four years. The merchant cared not how the people had died, and marveled that the Christians, so dainty-mouthed, could eat the bodies of the dead.[49] Paré also said that the demand for mummy

> . . . sometimes mooved certaine of our French Apothecaries, men wondrous audacious, and covetous, to steale by night the bodyes of such as were hanged, and embalming them with salt and Drugges they dryed them in an Oven, so to sell them thus adulterated in steed of true Mummie. Wherefore wee are thus compelled both foolishly and cruelly to devoure the mangled and putride particles of the carcasses of the basest people of Egypt, or of such as are hanged, as though there were no other way to helpe or recover one bruised with a fall from a high place, than to bury man by an horrid insertion in their, that is, in mans guts.[50]

Paré condemned the use of mummy as a drug: 'This wicked kinde of Drugge, doth nothing helpe the diseased, in that case, wherefore and wherein it is administered, as I have tryed an hundred times, and as Thevet witnesses, he tryed in himselfe when he tooke some thereof by the advice of a certaine Jewish Physition of Egypt, from whence it is brought; but it also inferres many troublesome symptomes, as the paine of the heart or stomacke, vomiting, and stinke of the mouth.'[51]

The government of Egypt apparently tried to stop the export of mummy. Louis de Paradis, a French surgeon, reported to Paré that 'the people of the country refuse to permit any of the said bodies to be carried around, saying that Christians are unworthy of eating their dead bodies. For if they are taken out of the country, it is by means of some Jews, who remove their clothes and pack them with their merchandise, so that their identity may not be known.'[52] Jean Bodin, in his *Heptaplomeres* (1593), has Fagnola, the Moslem, say the following:

> As I was looking around the city of Cairo in Egypt, . . . and the old pyramids that are about the city, a doctor, and indeed an empiricist of Genoa, whom I had taken as a

[49] In his 'Discours de la Mumie' (*op. cit.*, III, 481–482).

[50] Translation of Thomas Johnson, 1634; *The Apologie and Treatise of Ambrose Paré*, ed. Geoffrey Keynes (Chicago, 1952), p. 145.

[51] *Ibid.*, pp. 145–146.

[52] Paré, *Oeuvres*, III, 478.

companion, asked me to travel to Ammonium, so he named the place where the bodies of the Egyptians, embalmed with various spices, lay preserved; he advised that these bodies had the power to cure almost all diseases. Although I believe only half of what an empiricist says, I agreed, and we two removed a mummy from the grave. An inscription on it convinced me that this body was two or three thousand years old. . . . I would have the body to show you had the Tritonian Demons permitted it.[53]

He goes on to say that he shipped the body out of Alexandria on a merchant ship for Italy with the mummy closed up in a box like a palladium. A great storm arose and although all pumped and prayed it was to no avail. The master of the vessel then commanded, under threat of death as punishment, that any one who had with him some mummies out of Egypt should throw them into the sea immediately. Under cover of darkness, Fagnola opened the coffer and slipped the mummy into the sea. In the same instant the storm eased and shortly the ship landed at Candia in Crete. In the discussion which follows the above tale, the question is raised why the ship's master ordered that any mummies in the ship be thrown into the sea. Fagnola replied that mummies brought out of Egypt always raise storms at sea, and since this happens so often the naval laws of Egypt strongly forbid the export of mummies. The violator of this law is responsible to the merchant for the loss of his goods.

Certainly the government regulations and the threat of shipwreck did not stop the exportation of mummy. A Pisan statute of 1305 mentions the importation of mummy.[54] Francesco Balducci Pegolotti, a Florentine active in the Bardi banking house in the first half of the fourteenth century, lists *mummia* among the two hundred eighty-eight spices imported into Europe.[55] John Sanderson, an English merchant in the Levant at the end of the sixteenth century, records the export from Egypt of six hundred pounds of mummy, together with a whole body, which were shipped to London and sold to the apothecaries. The exportation of such a vast amount was accomplished by bribery. Sanderson tells of his own exploration of a tomb containing numerous bodies, which 'gave no noisome smell at all', and how he 'brought home divers heads,

[53] G. E. Guhrauer, *Das Heptaplomeres des Jean Bodin* (Berlin, 1841), pp. 8–10.

[54] *Statuti inediti della città di Pisa dal XII al XIV secolo*, ed. Francesco Bonaini, III (Florence, 1857), 438: *Et de soldatis XX mummie, ab unaquaque parte . . . dr. 1.*

[55] F. B. Pegolotti, *La practica della mercatura*, ed. Alan Evans (Cambridge, Mass., 1936), pp. 70, 124, 179, 295. The list is reproduced in R. S. Lopez and I. W. Raymond, *Medieval Trade in the Mediterranean World* (New York, 1955), pp. 108–114.

hands, arms and feet for a shewe'.[56] The book of customs for merchandise in Scotland in 1612 values *mummia* at eight shillings the pound, the same value as *lapis contiae*, *sulphur vivum*, *spodium*, and *sal gem*.[57]

The importation of *mummia* into Europe continued for some time. Francis Bacon (1561–1626) writes that 'Mummy hath great force in Staunching the Bloud'.[58] Robert Boyle, the Irish chemist and philosopher (1627–1691), still speaks of mummy as 'one of the usual medicines commended and given by our physicians, for falls, and bruises, and in other cases too'.[59] In the eighteenth century, Samuel Johnson, in his famous *Dictionary of the English Language*, writes, 'We have two different substances preserved for medical use under the name of mummy: one is the dried flesh of human bodies embalmed with myrrh and spices; the other is the liquor running from such mummies when newly prepared, or when affected by great heat, or by damps.' He mentions the substitution by the merchants of the bodies of executed criminals and the like for the ancient bodies and concludes with the statement that 'the mummy and the skull alone of all these horrid medicines retain their place in the shops'.[60] As late as the early nineteenth century an English traveler reported that the 'Arabs make use of mummy powder for a medicine; they mix it with butter, and give the preparation the name of Mantey. It is esteemed a sovereign remedy for internal and external ulcers, and also finds a place in the Italian Pharmacopaeias.'[61]

In Renaissance literature, too, references are made to mummy, often with allusions to other qualities besides, as a drug. Falstaff, in Shakespeare's *Merry Wives of Windsor*, III.v, rejoices at his narrow escape from drowning, 'a death that I abhor; for water swells a man; and what a thing should I have been, when I had been swell'd! I should have been a mountain of mummy.' The fateful handkerchief which a 'Gypsy' (Egyptian) had given to the mother of the Moor in *Othello*, III.iv, was 'dy'd in mummy which the skillful Conserv'd of maidens' hearts.'[62] In James

[56] *The Travels of John Sanderson*, ed. Sir William Foster (London, 1931, Hakluyt Society, ser. 2, LXVII), p. 44.

[57] 'The Book of Customs and Valuation of Merchandises in Scotland, 1612', *Ledger of Andrew Halyburton . . . 1492–1503* (Edinburgh, 1867), p. 301.

[58] *Sylva sylvarum*, cent. X, 980.

[59] *The Works of the Honorable Robert Boyle*, II (London, 1772), 451.

[60] S.v. 'Mummy'.

[61] R. R. Madden, *Travels in Turkey, Egypt, Nubia, and Palestine*, II (London, 1829), 90.

[62] On the special character of the mummies of young Egyptian girls, see Bodin, *Heptaplomeres*, Book IV; M. de Roquefort, *Des Sepultures nationales* (Paris, 1824), p. 141.

Shirley's *The Bird in a Cage*, I.i, Rolliardo says, 'Make mummy of my flesh, and sell me to the apothecaries.' Beaumont and Fletcher in *The Sea Voyage*, III.i, refer to the softness of mummy: 'You shall grow mummy, rascals.' Sir Thomas Browne (1605–1682), in the fifth chapter of his *Urn Burial*, writes, 'Mummy is become merchandise, Mizraim cures wounds, and Pharaoh is sold for balsams.'

In the Renaissance, museology was in its infancy, especially when it came to the collecting of mummies and other ancient Egyptian antiquities. However, the celebrated Cardinal Pietro Bembo (1470–1547) had in his museum some bronze tables containing Egyptian hieroglyphics. These were edited with eleven plates of figures and hieroglyphics by Enea Vico of Parma in 1559 and reprinted in 1600.[63] The Medici prince, Cosimo I (1519–1574), began a collection of Egyptian antiquities along with his more famous museum of Etruscan objects.[64]

The serious collecting of Egyptian antiquities began in the seventeenth century. In 1615 the celebrated traveler Pietro della Valle paid three piastres for two excellent mummies which he dug up at Sacarra and later brought to Europe, where they became a part of the Dresden Museum collection.[65] About 1630 the antiquary Fabri de Peiresc (1580–1637) sent Theophilus Minutius, a Franciscan friar, on an expedition to the east. Among other objects and manuscripts, Minutius returned with two excellent mummies.[66] The Egyptian collection of Peiresc was used in the studies of the Jesuit scholar Athanasius Kircher (1601–1680) for his *Sphinx mystagoga, sive diatribe hieroglyphica, qua mumiæ, ex Memphiticis Pyramidum adytis erutæ, et non ita pridem in Galliam transmissæ, juxta veterum Hieromystarum mentem, intentionemque, plena fide et exacta exhibetur interpretatio* (Amsterdam, 1676). Fragments of mummies could be found in the collection of Pierre Borel of Castre (*c.* 1645), while Lodovico Settala, a physician of Milan, collected a museum (*c.* 1664) that contained mummies.[67] The University of Leiden listed Egyptian mummies and idols in its catalogue of 1691.[68] Dr. Richard Mead (1673–1754) possessed a mummy, now in the museum of the Royal College of Physi-

[63] *Vetustissimae tabulae Aeneae hieroglyphicis . . . Aegyptiorum literis cælatæ typus . . . denuo . . . opera . . . Iacobi Franci prodit* (Venice, 1600).

[64] G. F. Young, *The Medici* (New York, 1933), p. 567.

[65] Pietro della Valle, *Les fameux voyages de Pietro della Valle*, I (Paris, 1663), 230–241.

[66] Peter Gassendi, *Vita Peirescii* (Hagæ Comitis, 1651), p. 356.

[67] David Murray, *Museums, their History and their Uses*, I (Glasgow, 1904), 87–88, 94.

[68] *Ibid.*, p. 30.

cians. This mummy and two others were all that Alexander Gordon was able to find in England when he attempted a comparative study in 1737.[69]

While the Renaissance scholar could learn of the pyramids only from the remarks and description of classical authors and from the accounts of travelers, examples of other Egyptian antiquities could be studied at first-hand. These were the obelisks of Rome. Brought to that city by the Roman emperors, these huge pointed monoliths had long been objects of curiosity and wonder.[70] In the medieval redactions of the *Mirabilia urbis Romanae*, the obelisks are called *aguliæ* or needles.[71] The first Renaissance catalogue of the obelisks of Rome was in the *Anonymus Magliabecchianus* made in the beginning of the fifteenth century.[72] Flavius Blondus (1388–1463) mentions the obelisks seen by him.[73] Early in the fifteenth century, a small obelisk (8 ft., 3 in.), which had been originally in the Egypto-Roman temple known as the Iseum (Serapium), was discovered. In 1582 it was given by the Roman state to Ciriaco Mattei and now stands in the Villa Celimontana dei Mattei. The lower portion is modern, but the upper half bears the cartouches of Ramses II and Psamtik II.[74] The broken obelisk now standing on Monte Citorio (Campensis) was discovered in 1476.[75]

Pictures or verbal descriptions of obelisks are found in some Renaissance literature. Fra Francesco Colonna, in his interesting and profusely illustrated work *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*, published by Aldus Manutius in 1499, included descriptions and pictures of Egyptian antiquities. Besides the numerous reliefs of 'Egyptian' hieroglyphics, there is a huge pyramid with an obelisk in a socket covered with hieroglyphics, and another obelisk with hieroglyphics on the back of an elephant.[76] The

[69] *Ibid.*, p. 123.

[70] Cf. Pliny, *Natural History*, XXXVI. 14 and 15; XVI. 76; Ammianus Marcellinus, *History*, XVII. 4; H. H. Gorringe, *Egyptian Obelisks* (London, 1885), pp. 126–133; Adolf Erman, *Römische Obelisken* (Berlin, 1917).

[71] *Mirabilia urbis Romæ*, ed. F. M. Nichols (London, 1889), p. 71.

[72] H. Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom in Alterthum*, II (Berlin, 1871), 181.

[73] *De Roma instaurata* (Venice, 1510), fols. 7–8, 20.

[74] Antonio Nibby, *Roma nell' anno MDCCCXXXVIII*, II (Rome, 1839), 289–290; Giuseppe Gatteschi, *The Grandeur that was Rome* (New York, 1954), pp. 96–97. Early in the sixteenth century, in the area of the Iseum, were found the statues of the Nile and the Tiber, showing the connection between the Egyptian religion and Rome (Nibby, *op. cit.*, pp. 673–674).

[75] Nibby, *op. cit.*, pp. 265–270. The obelisk was reërected in 1792.

[76] *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* (Venice, 1499), fig. 3. The architect who constructed the pyramid and the obelisk is recorded as 'Lichas the Libian' (Egyptian). In 1667, Pope Alex-

French satirist and humanist François Rabelais (1494–1553), showed much interest in the ancient Egyptians in his *Gargantua and Pantagruel*. In the shady, deserted forest of the island of the Macreons, Pantagruel and his company 'discovered several old ruined temples, obelisks, pyramids, monuments and ancient tombs, with various inscriptions and epitaphs, some in hieroglyphics . . .'.[77] The terms used in this passage must have appeared to Rabelais (or to some unidentified author) to be obscure to his readers, for at the end of the book was added the 'Briefue declaration d'aucues dictions plus obscures' in which the words 'obelisks, pyramids, and hieroglyphics' are further explained. Obelisks are described as being 'large and long needles [*aiguilles*] of stone', large at the base and becoming small and smaller until they reach a point at the top.[78] The same type of structure can be found in the sharp obelisks with hieroglyphics in the picture in the *Trattato di scientia d'arme* of Camillo Agrippa of Milan.[79]

In the sixteenth century only one obelisk in Rome stood upright. This was the red granite uninscribed monolith, slightly more than eighty-three feet high, which the Emperor Gaius Caligula (37–41 A.D.) had brought from Heliopolis to Rome. The Emperor Nero had built his circus around it and at the foot of this ancient Egyptian monument, it is said, St. Peter suffered a martyr's death. By the time of the Renaissance, while the new Basilica of St. Peter was being built, the obelisk, deeply buried in dirt and debris, stood by an ancient mausoleum which served as a sacristy for St. Peter's.[80] It was surmounted by a globe which in the middle ages was believed to contain the ashes of Julius Caesar.[81]

Already in the fifteenth century, Pope Nicholas V (1447–1455) had thought of removing the obelisk and placing it in the Piazza of St. Pe-

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ander VII erected one of the Roman obelisks in the Piazza della Minerva, placing it upon the back of a marble elephant.

[77] Book IV, xxx.

[78] *Oeuvres*, ed. Ch. Marty-Laveaux, III (Paris, 1873), 201.

[79] Agrippa, *Trattato di scientia d'arme* (Rome, 1553), fol. LXIII. The picture is attributed to Michelangelo; cf. L. S. Olschki, *Le Livre en Italie à travers les siècles* (Florence, 1914), pl. III, fig. 1.

[80] Cf. the drawing of Martin van Heemskerk, 1532–1535, reproduced in Margaret R. Scherer, *Marvels of Ancient Rome* (New York and London, 1955), plate 207.

[81] Jordan, *op. cit.*, refers to the Bull of Leo IX, 1053: *agulia, quae vocatur sepulcrum Iulii Caesaris*. The globe is now in the Conservatori Museum, its surface punctured by bullet holes made in the sack of Rome in 1527.

ter's, but his death occurred before the plan had progressed far.[82] The plans of Pope Paul II (1464–1471) to remove the obelisk were similarly halted by the death of the pontiff.[83] The artist-architect Michelangelo advised Pope Paul III (1534–1549) against the moving of the obelisk, and later in the century Pope Gregory XIII, who instigated the reform of the calendar, was deterred from the undertaking by the estimated cost of 30,000 scudi.[84]

The difficult task was left to the energetic Pope Sixtus V who, soon after his accession to the See of St. Peter in 1585, gave orders for the excavation and removal of the obelisk. After a study by a group of experts, the work was entrusted to the engineer Domenico Fontana.[85] On 30 April 1586, amid the jubilation of all Rome, forty windlasses raised the ancient Egyptian monument from its base. Because of the heat of the summer and the difficulties involved, it was not until 10 September that the obelisk was reërected on its new pedestal in the Piazza of St. Peter's while the multitude of spectators applauded and the guns of the Castle of St. Angelo boomed. Fontana's engineering skill was praised throughout Europe. The obelisk also played an important part in the guide books of the time, and a fresco and a model in the Vatican Library perpetuated the memory of the transportation and reërection of this ancient Egyptian monument.[86] On 26 September, the pagan obelisk was exorcised and purified by Sixtus V, and a cross, the venerator of which was to receive a special indulgence, was placed on the top. The triumph of Chris-

[82] Michele Mercati, *De gli obelischi di Roma* (Rome, 1589), pp. 340–342; Eugene Müntz, *Les arts à la cour des papes pendant le XV^e^ et le XVI^e^ siècle*, I (Paris, 1878), 83.

[83] Mercati, *op. cit.*, p. 342; Müntz, *op. cit.*, II (Paris, 1879), 24–25.

[84] Mercati, *op. cit.*, pp. 343–346; Ludwig Pastor, *The History of the Popes from the Close of the Middle Ages*, ed. R. F. Kerr, XX (London, 1930), 598.

[85] Fontana explained, by text and numerous illustrations, the engineering problems which the moving of the obelisk presented in his *Della trasportatione dell' obelisco Vaticano et delle fabriche di nostro signore Papa Sisto V. fatte dal cavallier Domenico Fontana* (Rome, 1590). Part of this work has been paraphrased by M. A. Lebas in his *L'Obelisque de Luxor* (Paris, 1839), pp. 169–186. Cf. also the sixteen plates (XXXVII–LII) in *Castelli, e ponti di maestro Niccola Zabaglia con alcune ingegnose pratiche, e con la descrizione del trasporto dell' obelisco vaticano e di altri del cavaliere Domenico Fontana* (Rome, 1743). Earlier Camillo Agrippa of Milan had discussed the problem in his *Trattato . . . di trasportar la guglia in su la Piazza di San Pietro* (Rome, 1583). Cf. also Bern Dibner, *Moving the Obelisks* (New York, 1950), and W. B. Parsons, *Engineers and Engineering in the Renaissance* (Baltimore, 1939), chap. IX.

[86] Pastor, *op. cit.*, pp. 256–259. The traveler Samuel Kiechel, *op. cit.*, pp. 167–168, described this and the other obelisks which he saw in Rome. Cf. also Shakespeare, Sonnet No. 123; Nibby, *op. cit.*, pp. 283–289.

tianity over paganism was further emphasized by the inscription which the pope placed on the base above that of the Emperor Caligula.[87]

So successful was the undertaking that Sixtus V now planned to place similar obelisks before the six principal basilicas of Rome. The two pieces of one of the uninscribed obelisks from the Mausoleum of Augustus were reërected in front of the basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore in 1587.[88] The largest of all the present erect obelisks (105 ft., 6 in.) is that of Thutmose III and Thutmose IV which Constantine the Great had removed from Thebes to Alexandria and which had been placed on the spina of the Circus Maximus of Rome by Constantius in 357 A.D. The three pieces of this obelisk were excavated by Fontana from their positions twenty-six feet below the surface, placed in front of the church of S. Giovanni in Laterano in 1588, and likewise adorned with a cross. The pieces of the obelisk of Seti I and Ramses II which Augustus had removed from Heliopolis to the Circus Maximus of Rome were reërected in the Piazza del Popolo in 1589. This monument, called the Flaminian Obelisk, was also crowned with a cross.[89] The death of the pope in 1590 prevented the removal of other obelisks to various piazzas of Rome, but during his pontificate Sixtus V had given Rome unusual architectural adornment which, strategically placed at the end of long avenues, created a striking perspective to the eyes of the countless pilgrims and travelers who visited the Eternal City.

The reërection of these obelisks stimulated considerable interest in Egypt and her antiquities. The poets Galesinus, Ugonia, Aguilar, Borgaeus, and Tasso published special poems, medals were struck, and books were written by Bargeo, Mercati, Pigafetta, Iodati, Torrigio, Vittorelli, and others.[90] In his *De gli obelischi*, Mercati summed up the extant knowledge about the ancient Egyptian monuments which he gleaned from seventy-nine ancient authorities and seventeen writers of his age. His book attempts to explain the form, name, and origin of the obelisk, and also to decipher the hieroglyphics on the sides of certain of

[87] Mercati, *op. cit.*, pp. 363–371; Petrus Angelius, *Commentarius de obeliscis ad Sixtum V.* (1586) in J. G. Graevius, *Thesaurus antiquitatum Romanarum*, IV (Venice, 1732), cols. 1893–1936.

[88] Nibby, *op. cit.*, pp. 261–262. This was one of the two obelisks discovered near S. Rocco shortly before 1527.

[89] Mercati, *op. cit.*, pp. 372–392. Cf. also *Obelisci Augusti inscriptio ab Josepho Castalione jurisconsulto explicata* (Rome, 1589) in Graevius, *op. cit.*, cols. 1857–1866; Nibby, *op. cit.*, 276–280.

[90] Pastor, *op. cit.*, pp. 258–259, 267; Nibby, *op. cit.*, p. 288.

those in Rome. Mercati includes much Egyptian history in his discussions and concludes with a 'Tavola universale' of the Pharaohs of Egypt. Here he lists Mephres as the ruler who invented obelisks and dates his reign as beginning in 1662 B.C., eight years before the death of Joseph.[91] Pierio Valeriano relates in the preface to his *Hieroglyphica, seu de sacris Aegyptiorum aliarumque gentium literis commentarii* (Venice, 1604) that it was the reërection of the obelisks in Rome that prompted him to undertake this massive and monumental work.

In one of the Hermetic books, so popular in the Renaissance, there is the statement, 'O Egypt! O Egypt! Fables alone will be thy future history, wholly incredible to later generations . . . and nought but the letter of thy stone-engraved monuments will survive.'[92] In the Renaissance, the fables were still plentiful, but the awakening interest in the ancient land of Egypt was to lead to a continuing attempt to arrive at a correct knowledge of Egyptian history. The real key to the secrets of Egypt was to be the decipherment of the 'stone-engraved monuments' in the nineteenth century.

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[91] Mercati, *op. cit.*, pp. 393–397. In chap. XI, 'Delle lettere Hieroglifiche', he introduces for comparison the picture writing of the Aztecs of Mexico (pp. 96–97).

[92] Walter Scott, *Hermetica*, I (Oxford, 1924), 343: *Asclepius* III, 25.

Croatian Renaissance

A NUMBER of recent publications by *Jugoslavenska Akademija Znanosti i Umjetnosti* (the Yugoslav Academy of Science and Arts, in Zagreb) calls attention to an important literary renaissance in Croatia during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Evidence of this renaissance is the considerable amount of writing done by Croatian poets, most of whom lived in the cities and islands of that narrow coastal strip in Dalmatia which had not been overrun by the Turks.

At present the Yugoslav Academy is engaged in printing the books of Neo-Latin humanist writers of Croatian origin. It is also making available photostatically reproduced texts of the most important authors who wrote in the national language. These latter works have already been published by the academy in modernized versions with excellent annotations and commentaries in the famous series entitled *Stari Pisci Hrvatski* (Old Croatian Writers). Now, for the first time, facsimiles of the originals are easily available at small cost to students of Croatian literary history. Likewise, the works of Neo-Latin writers from this region are becoming accessible to scholars throughout the world.

Originally, the academy was mainly interested in editing those writings which were written in Croatian. Specimens of the Latin authors did appear, but only as selections and adjuncts to studies about the authors concerned. A major reason for the earlier concentration on writers in the vernacular was that the academy began its work of publication in 1867, at a time when its concern was chiefly, according to its first president Franjo Rački (1828–1894), with problems of national interest.[1] Its founders believed that the Croatian language and literature of the nineteenth century would be enriched if these were brought into intimate

[1] Cf. 'Devedeset godina Jugoslavenske Akademije znanosti i umjetnosti' by Dr. Andrija Štampar on the 90th anniversary of the Yugoslav Academy, in *Politika*, 18 March 1958, p. 17.

relationship with the golden period of the Croatian literary past (the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries). Now that the maturity of the language as a literary instrument has been realized and Croatian literature has again reached an enviable peak, the academy is turning its attention to the past with broader scholarly purposes in mind. As a result, there has been a reawakened interest in the contributions of Croatian Latinists to the general culture of Europe.

One of the first Neo-Latin authors to be published is the celebrated poet and translator Ivan Česmički (1434–1472, from Česmica, Slavonia), better known to the world as Janus Pannonius. The book *Pjesme i Epigrami* (Janus Pannonius, *Poems and Epigrams*, Zagreb, 1951) is the second volume in a new series of the academy entitled *Hrvatski Latinisti* (Croatian Latinists). The text of Pannonius's elegies and epigrams is printed together with facing translations of all the poems into Croatian by the poet Nikola Šop. An excellent preface by the late Mihovil Kombol speaks about the poet's sojourn in Italy at Guarino's famous school at Ferrara, describes his political services to the court of King Mathias of Hungary, and gives an evaluation of his place among Neo-Latin poets. Though his models are the classical masters, Pannonius was an original lyricist who often included his own experiences in his beautiful elegies and epigrams. Kombol considers Pannonius's highest poetic achievement his third (*De morte Barbarae*), tenth (*De se aegrotante in castris*), twelfth (*Ad somnum, cum dormire nequiret*), and fourteenth elegies (*Ad animam suam*).[2] Today, Yugoslav historians use his Elegia VI (*Mathias Hungarorum rex Antonium Constantium poetam Italum alloquitur*), describing the battle of Jajce (1463) which he himself witnessed, as an authoritative account of a crucial event that might otherwise have remained unregistered in Christian annals.[3]

Another Renaissance Latinist already published in this series is the

[2] *Pjesme i epigrami*, p. xvi.

[3] Typical of Česmički are his compact and very picturesque verses about the Bosnian landscape:

Pars fuit Illyrici, quam nunc vocat incola Bosnam,
Dura, sed argenti munere dives humus.
Non illic virides spacioso margine campi,
Nec sata qui multo foenore reddat ager.
Sed rigidi montes, sed saxa minantia coelo,
Castella et summis imposita alta jugis. . . .

Cf. *Pjesme i epigrami*, pp. 36 and 322. This same text was translated into English and published in the magazine *Yugoslavia*, in the issue devoted to Bosnia and Hercegovina (no. 7, 1953, p. 3).

Dominican friar Vinko Pribojević (Vincentius Priboevius, early sixteenth century), whose *De origine successibusque Slavorum* (Zagreb, 1951) was first printed at Venice in 1532. The modern editor, Grga Novak, gives a first-class account of Dalmatia and Hvar during the first half of the sixteenth century. Novak's study is followed by Pribojević's Latin text and a translation into Croatian by Veljko Gortan. This small book, originally a lecture delivered by Pribojević in his native Hvar, became a cornerstone of the Pan-Slavic movement and influenced such later Pan-Slavists as Mavro Orbini (*Il regno degli Slavi*, Pesaro, 1601) and Juraj Križanić. Although Pribojević was not a true historian, he was a great patriot and even greater Slavophile, whose main concern was to demonstrate the unity and the greatness of Slavdom: 'Verum quia Dalmata et proinde Illyrius ac demum Slavus coram Slavis de Slavorum fortunis sermonem habere statui.'[4]

So far the series *Hrvatski Latinisti* has produced works by two other authors. One is the Latin verses of the poet and literary historian Ignjat Djurdjević (1675–1737), *Latinske Pjesni Razlike* (*Poetici lusus varii*, Zagreb, 1956). This magnificent edition, based on the manuscript (no. 42) kept in the Franciscan Monastery at Dubrovnik, was prepared by Veljko Gortan, who also gives a scholarly introduction to Djurdjević as a Latin poet. The Latin text is preceded by selected poems and epigrams translated into Croatian by Nikola Šop. This innovation is due to the editor's awareness that Šop's translations, though poetically perfect, are a recast and, therefore, should not face the original.[5] The other volume is a de luxe edition in a Croatian rendering of Baltazar Adam Krčelić's (1715–1778) memoirs *Annuae sive historia*, 1748–1767 (Zagreb, 1952). It was first published in the Latin original by Tadija Šmičiklas (in *Monumenta spectantia historiam Slavorum meridionalium*, XXX, Zagreb, 1901). Veljko Gortan has made an excellent translation of this at times difficult Latin text, and has prepared an extensive index to the *Annuae*. It must be stressed

[4] *De origine successibusque Slavorum*, pp. 41 and 58.

[5] *Poetici Lusus varii*, p. 399 (editor's epilogue). The most interesting is his Epigram 68, *In Grillum Dalmatam italizantem*, from which I shall quote only the beginning and the end (p. 232):

Italus esse cupis, non es sed Dalmata, Grille,
Voce, animo, curis, gestibus, ore, gradu. . . .
O Venere invita prognate, quid ardua poscis
Quidve reluctantem pruris in Italiam?
Cur te ipsum et patriam dediscere, Grille, laboras,
Dum stulto satis est, si queat esse suus?

that the *Annuae* are an important source for the study of the political, cultural, and social history of Croatia during the eighteenth century.[6]

Among the *Stari Pisci Hrvatski* (vol. XXXI, Zagreb, 1954) is printed for the first time the *Davidias* of Marko Marulić (1450–1524), celebrated for his poems and other writings in both Latin and Croatian.[7] The *Davidias* is an epic in fourteen books treating the life of King David as a prefiguration of the life of Christ. 'Marulić was the first humanist to compose a poem of such size and scope, and the only one who chose his hero from the Old Testament.'[8] Marulić was best known and appreciated by his contemporaries as the author of this work despite the fact that it circulated only in manuscript.

Despite a dedication to the powerful Cardinal Grimani, the censor did not allow *Davidias* to be sent to the printers. Marulić comments on this disapproval in the dedicatory epistle, saying that this 'opus, si sancitati tuae placuerit, facile criticorum ronchos invidiorumque subsanationes contemnemus vel potius in illas incidere minime verebimur'.[9] Several hypotheses have been advanced to explain why *Davidias* was never printed; the most plausible of these is that Marulić's messianic interpretation of the events of David's life often did not accord with orthodox teaching.[10]

During the nineteenth and twentieth centuries Croatian scholars searched for the manuscript of this work throughout Europe. It did not come to light until 1952, when an Italian scholar, Carlo Dionisotti, found a copy of it in the National Library of Turin (Codex G VI 40).[11] The academy's edition, with Josip Badalić's substantial and valuable introduction, is based upon this discovery.[12]

A small selection from Marulić's other Latin verses is included in the

[6] The Croatian writers August Šenoa and Josip Eugen Tomić read the *Annuae* before their publication and found in them the material for some of their historical novels.

[7] The best study in English about Marko Marulić was written by Mirko Usmiani, in *Harvard Slavic Studies* III (1957), pp. 1–48.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 1.

[9] *Davidias* (ed. Josip Badalić), p. 43.

[10] Badalić, in *Davidias*, p. 9 and 228 ('Comparationes autem et interpretationes nominum personarum earumque actionum, quibus in explicatione alegorica poeta usus est, non semper cum vera catholicae fidei doctrina congruunt, immo vero ab ea discrepant').

[11] Badalić, in *Davidias*, p. 7.

[12] Recently Professor Miroslav Marković has published another edition of *Davidias* (University of Mérida, Venezuela), based on a different manuscript, also from Turin, which he claims to be closer to Marulić's original than that used by Badalić (cf. *Croatia Press*, New York, 1958, no. 3, p. 7).

academy's *Zbornik Marka Marulića* (*Miscellany of Marko Marulić*, Zagreb, 1950), with the remark that up to that time the Italian government had not returned the important collection of Marulić manuscripts which was removed during World War II from the library at Zadar (in Dalmatia).[13] The implication is that more Latin works of this author will be published by the academy when the materials once again become available.[14]

Marko Marulić and Ivan Česmički are not the only figures of the Neo-Latin Renaissance in Croatia. Studies of and selections from several of their contemporaries have appeared in various volumes, especially of *Rad* and of other publications by the academy. The chief of these are Juraj Šišgorić (Georgius Sisgoreus, fifteenth century) of Šibenik, who did notable work in the elegy, in the ode, and in prose; Juraj Dragišić (Georgius Benignus, 1450–1520) of Srebrenica (Bosnia), a famous theologian and philosopher; Ilija Crijević (Aelius Lampridius Cervinus, 1463–1520) of Dubrovnik, a lyricist; and Jakov Bunić (Jacobus de Bona, 1469–1534), also of Dubrovnik, a writer of epic poems. Dragišić became famous mostly for his defense of the German humanist Johannes Reuchlin in the dispute with the Dominicans over Jewish books. He tried also to defend Savonarola (in *Propheticae solutiones pro Hieronymo Savonarola*, Florence, 1497). His most interesting work, *Opus de natura caelestium spirituum quos angelos vocamus* (Florence, 1499), is dedicated to the Senate of Dubrovnik, where he spent his childhood and to which he returned in later life for a few years (1497–1500).[15] Bunić is remarkable for having anticipated Marco Girolamo Vida in writing a 'Christiad' (*De vita et gestis Christi*, Rome, 1526) and for another poem, *De raptu Cerberi*

[13] *Zbornik Marka Marulića*, p. 28 ff.

[14] Marulić led a solitary life and encouraged some of his friends to follow his example. Here is one of his shorter Latin poems (*Zbornik*, p. 10):

Quaeris cur conjunx quae te dilexerat olim
Nunc fugit et duris litibus exagitat.

Verius haud quicquam possum tibi dicere, Marce:
Dilexit iuvenem, nunc fugit illa senem.

Omnibus hoc vitium est miseros odere maritos,
Aetas longa quibus languida membra facit.

Vis tu pace frui, cum sit tibi candida barba,
I procul, atque alio vivere discere loco.

[15] Cf. St. Zimmermann, 'Juraj Dragišić (Georgius Benignus de Salviatis) kao filozof humanizma', *Rad* 227 (1923), 59–79. Also Mihovil Kombol, *Poviest hrvatske književnosti* (History of Croatian literature) (Zagreb, 1945), p. 70 ff.

(Rome, *c.* 1490), which enjoyed a second edition at Basle in 1538. In the latter work Bunić follows Seneca's tragedy *Hercules*, but his style and language are completely those of Vergil.[16] Crijević stands out as a representative of an extreme humanist position: scorning the vernacular, he contends that Latin is the only language befitting a man of letters.[17] Šišgorić, on the other hand, though he wrote exclusively in Latin and followed the classical models, appreciated the folk poems of his native region and extolled them for their literary merit.[18] Besides his high regard for Croatian folk poetry, he also considered the native proverbs so full of wisdom that he translated many of these into Latin.[19] There are some very touching elegies in his book of poems (*Elegiarum et carminum libri tres*, Venice, 1477), especially those about the death of his own brothers and the devastation of the surroundings of Šibenik by the Turks. His patriotic feeling is clearly expressed by the concluding verses to his *De Sibenicensis agri vastatione*:

> Pro te, sacra fides et dulcis patria, pro te
> sit mea barbaricis dedita vita viris.
> Pro te me voveo, pro te mea pectora trado
> et morior pro te vulnera saeva ferens.[20]

Šišgorić served as an example to writers in the vernacular whose literary masters were mainly classical authors and Italians of the Renaissance period, but who had such an enthusiasm for folk poetry that in the middle of their own works they quoted poems which they particularly admired. In other words, these writers, instead of producing pale imitations of their Latin, Greek, and Italian models, as was the case with too many humanists, gave new life to the forms they practised by drawing upon their experience with native life and oral literature.

[16] Dj. Korbler, 'Jakov Bunić dubrovčanin, latinski pjesnik', *Rad* 180 (1910), 58–134.

[17] Fr. Rački, 'Iz djela E. L. Crijevića dubrovčanina', *Starine* IV (1872), 155–200; N. Sola, 'Aelii Lampridii Cervini operum latinorum pars prior', *Archivio storico per la Dalmazia*, XVI–XIX.

[18] Šišgorić's *De situ Illyriae et civitate Sibenici a. 1487*, was published by M. Šrepel in *Gradja za povijest književonsti hrvatske* II (1899), 1–12. In his extremely interesting last chapter ('De moribus quibusdam Sibenici'), appears this sentence concerning folk love poems: 'Petulans deinde iuventus, cupidinibusque capta, voce valens amatorium carmen tale noctu decantant quale vix cultus Tibullus aut blandus Propertius aut lascivus Licoridis Gallus aut Lesbia Sappho decantaret' (in *Gradja* II, 11).

[19] In the same chapter about popular customs, Šišgorić declares: 'Siquidem proverbiis Illyricis utuntur, quae nos dicteria diximus, et ex lingua vernacula in latinum vertimus.' It is a pity that this unique translation is lost.

[20] Kombol, *Poviest hrvatske književnosti*, p. 60.

To some extent this is true even of Džore Držić (1461–1501), who, though a follower of Petrarch, can be called, at least sometimes, an original lyric poet, because he instilled into his poems many elements taken from the love poetry of the peasants.[21] The same could be said about some poems written by Dinko Ranjina (1536–1607) and Ignjat Djurdjević, who use the rhythms of folk poetry and allude to its national heroes.[22] More significant in this sense than the work of these Dubrovnik poets, however, is that of two noblemen from Hvar, Hanibal Lucić (1485–1553) and Petar Hektorović (1487–1572). Lucić's outstanding work is *Robinja* (*The Slave Girl*, Venice, 1585), which shows both the influence of Petrarchism and the unmistakable marks of folk poetry, for it deals with native characters and mentions personages celebrated by Croatian peasants and shepherds (e.g., ban Derenčin). Hektorović's *Ribanje i Ribarsko Prigovaranje* (*Fishing and Fishermen's Talk*, Venice, 1568) is a delightful and realistic poetic account of three days spent on the sea with two fishermen.[23] Although patterned after the *Piscatory Eclogues* of Jacopo Sannazaro (1458–1530) and other Italians, these verses show again that the best writers of the Croatian Renaissance did not merely imitate, but transformed the classical and humanistic heritage to suit the conditions of their own time and place.

The *Ribanje*, which the academy first issued in 1874, has appeared again (Zagreb, 1953) in the series of old Croatian authors now being photostatically reproduced from the early editions. Two other very important works of the sixteenth century have also been published in photostatic form. The first of these is Marko Marulić's most renowned vernacular work, *Judit* (Zagreb, 1950; from the Venice edition of 1521). This book, deeply influenced by the Old Testament narrative of Judith and Holofernes, is another example of the accommodation of a stock Renaissance literary type—the epic on a biblical subject—to the contem-

[21] The poems of Djore Držić were twice published (1870 and 1937) in the collection *Stari Pisci Hrvatski* with comments by such outstanding scholars as Vatroslav Jagić and Milan Rešetar. Cf. also Dragoljub Pavlović, *Dubrovačka poezija*, 2d ed. (Belgrade, 1956), pp. 57–59.

[22] Pavlović, *Dubrovačka poezija*, pp. 60–62, 193–198.

[23] Antun Barac, *A History of Yugoslav Literature* (Belgrade, 1955), pp. 29 ff.; Dragutin Subotić, *Yugoslav Popular Ballads* (Cambridge, 1932), p. 147; Matija Murko, *Tragom srpsko-hrvatske narodne epike* (Zagreb, 1951), *passim*; and H. Munro and N. Kershaw Chadwick, *The Growth of Literature* (Cambridge, 1936), II, 300: 'The oldest texts of oral poetry which have been preserved are two heroic poems included in Petar Hektorović's *Ribanje* (Fishing), written in 1556, which the author states that he had heard from the fishermen in the island of Hvar.'

porary situation. Everywhere in the poem one can see that Judith stands for the Croats in their interminable struggles against the Turks (Holofernes). Because of the literary influence of this epic and the fact that it became a source of patriotic inspiration, Marulić has been styled 'the founder of modern Croatian literature'.

The final work to be considered is the *Planine* (*The Mountains*, Zagreb, 1952; from the edition printed at Venice, 1569) of Petar Zoranić (1508–c. 1550). *Planine* is a novel modeled upon Sannazaro's *Arcadia* with lyrics showing the influence of Petrarchism interspersed among its pages. Here again, a Croatian author has taken the Italian model and has transformed it into something that is distinctly his own, for the subject matter is really the peasant life of the Croats, who—unlike their privileged countrymen living in the intellectual centers of Dalmatia—led a primitive, fearsome, and troubled existence in the face of the constant Turkish threat. A touching lamentation is put into the mouth of a shepherd over the Turkish ravages in the Croatian border regions. *Planine* is the most patriotic work of old Croatian literature and is considered by Croatian scholars as the first important work of prose fiction in their language.[24]

This brief survey has attempted to show, on the basis of recent publications, that literature flourished in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Croatia in both Latin and the native tongue. It has further emphasized that this literature, while it was within the Italian humanistic tradition, was also the mark of a true Croatian renaissance. Latinist and vernacular writer alike drew upon contemporary life and the folk poetry of the region to create a literature that was truly national.

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[24] Kombol, *Poviest hrvatske književnosti*, pp. 129–134; Slavko Ježić, *Hrvatska književnost* (Zagreb, 1944), pp. 86–89; Vj. Stefanić, *Planine* (Zagreb, 1942), 'Introduction'.

Music: a Book of Knowledge in Renaissance England

THE Renaissance man was as eager as any twentieth-century scientist to understand the universe and himself, the center of that universe, but he sought that knowledge in a different way. He relied heavily upon the Word of God. He accepted with little question the words of wise men of the past—Plato, Aristotle, Cicero, Boethius, St. Augustine. He was fascinated with the mysterious hieroglyphics and drawings left by the Chaldeans and Egyptians, untranslatable in his time but thought to be an esoteric language which might reveal hidden secrets of the universe. But his most accessible book was the 'universal and publick Manuscript' of nature,[1] that great volume written in the language of God, sometimes in 'Hieroglyphicall Characters' difficult to decipher, again in figures and 'letters' easily understood by any one who would take time to observe them. Sir Walter Raleigh stated the view of his time in unforgettable prose:

> But by his owne word, and by this visible world, is God perceived of men, which is also the understood language of the Almightie, vouchsafed to all his creatures, whose Hieroglyphical Characters, are the unnumbred Starres, the Sunne and Moone, written on these large volumes of the firmament: written also on the earth and the Seas, by the letters of all those living creatures, and plants, which inhabit and reside therein.[2]

In 'Stars Voluminous' man read his own fate. In the world around him he saw demonstrated principles of government or of moral law which he himself should heed. Robert Anton imagined the 'busie *Bees*' distilling 'sweet *maximes*' for man's use, singing 'in *Hieroglyphicks*' to 'teach a King, | The *politicks* of *state*'.[3] It was from the book of nature,

[1] Sir Thomas Browne, *Religio Medici*, part I, sec. 16 (*Works*, ed. Geoffrey Keynes, London, 1928, I, 21).

[2] *History of the World* (London, 1614), p. 2.

[3] *The Philosophers Satyrs* (London, 1616), sig. D1[r]. Sir Thomas Elyot too, among others, saw in the bee visible representation of right government, 'a perpetuall figure of a juste governaunce or rule' (ed. H. H. S. Croft, London, 1883, I, 12).

from 'the churlish chiding of the winter's wind', that the duke in *As You Like It* learned, as did Lear, the shallowness of 'painted pomp', the essential being of man. 'And this our life', he continued, 'Exempt from public haunt,

> Finds tongues in trees, books in the running brooks,
> Sermons in stones.'[4]

John Donne in Neoplatonic tradition in 'The Extasie' described the body as a book or picture from which the soul can learn the mysteries of love:

> Loves mysteries in soules doe grow,
> But yet the body is his booke.

Music, too, was 'more than meets the ear'. Music, too, revealed God and nature and the working of their laws. It was a book of knowledge, which made known through the ear the harmony that existed in heaven, in the universe, and in the body and soul of man, all the kinds of music that had other names—beauty, peace, love, virtue, health. Music was proportion and concord, and wherever there was concord and proportion there was music: '*Sounds* that charm our ears, | Are but one *Dressing* that rich *Science* wears',[5] but one manifestation of all the harmonies that are created by God, 'le grande Maistre de la musique'.[6] It afforded more than pleasure to the ear, more than emotional experience or mysterious elevation. It offered to the intellect knowledge of truth beyond that perceived by the senses. 'It is', wrote Sir Thomas Browne,

> an Hieroglyphical and shadowed lesson of the whole World, and creatures of God; such a melody to the ear, as the whole World, well understood, would afford the understanding.[7]

The Idea came from God, the 'first Composer'; it was embodied in notes by an inspired human composer, who by 'profound and hidden power', as William Byrd put it, was able to express 'some celestial harmony';[8] its language was universal, 'like that miraculous tongue of th'Apostles . . . alike knowne to all the sundry nations of the world'.[9]

The spiritual and physical effects attributed to music or the degree to

[4] II.i.1–18.

[5] Abraham Cowley, *Davideis*, I, sec. 36.

[6] Marin Mersenne, *Traité de l'harmonie universelle* (Paris, 1627), Theorem XIII, p. 24.

[7] *Religio Medici*, part II, sec. 9 (*Works*, I, 88).

[8] *Gradualia* (1610 ed.), dedication, tr. Oliver Strunk, *Source Readings in Music History* (New York, 1950), p. 328.

[9] *Parthenia or the Maydenhead of the first musicke that ever was printed for the Virginalls* (London, [1612/1613]), engraver's dedication.

which it may have influenced judgment or conduct cannot be discussed in this paper. Nor is there any intention to study specific relationships between philosophical theory and musical practice. The aim here is to show how pervasive and how popular was the Renaissance belief that music might be a source of knowledge.

The value of this book of music was denied by the materialist, the rationalist, the more crabbed moralist, the church reformer who, as did William Perkins, condemned 'consort in musicke in divine service', on the grounds that it fed the ears without 'edifying the minde',[10] or John Cotton, who denied that the 'voyce of Instruments' was 'significant and edifying by signification'.[11] Others, while granting that ancient music might have had value to man, believed with Ludovick Bryskett that the 'Corrupted musike which is most used now a dayes' carried 'with it nothing but sensuall delight to the eare, without working any good to the mind at all'.[12]

Music had sturdy defence, however, from non-reformist churchmen who argued for its use in church service and from moralists who found in it parables applicable to the life of man. It had use, too, for artists, architects, alchemists, astronomers, who made practical application of the underlying principles of order demonstrated in mathematical-musical relationships. One might read in the 'large volumes of the firmament' the design of God, or see in the circling stars or seasons a revelation of His harmoniousness; one might find 'books in the running brooks'; but music held its place, too, as a science and an art both speculative and practical and was, as Mersenne wrote in his *Traité de l'harmonie universelle* (1627), a virtue from the understanding of which we may be led to an understanding of all truth. One may find in music, he wrote, the 'rapport' that sounds, consonances, and other intervals have with the rhythm and metric feet of verse; with colors, smells, geometrical figures; with virtues and vices; with the qualities of the elements, the heavens, and many other things. There is nothing in nature, he concluded, that cannot be related to the consonances of music as well by experience as by reason.[13]

[10] 'A Golden Chaine; or The description of Theologie', *The Workes of that Famous and Worthy Minister of Christ in the Universitie of Cambridge, Mr. William Perkins* (Cambridge, 1612), I, 38. See my article, ' "Organical Musick" and Ecstasy', *J.H.I.* VIII (1947), 153–186.

[11] *Singing of Psalms a Gospel Ordinance* (London, 1647), p. 6.

[12] *A Discourse of Civill Life* (London, 1616), p. 147.

[13] Book II, pp. 305–306.

These ideas had their origins, needless to say, in the past, especially in the well-known Platonic and Pythagorean theories of music as an image of world harmony and in the Greek doctrine of *ethos*, as they came down through St. Augustine, Boethius, Ficino, and many others. But they were revived in the Renaissance with extraordinary enthusiasm and credence, first on the continent and then in England, where, especially from 1580 to 1640, when the great scientific manifestoes were beginning to appear, music was regarded as one of the volumes in the sensory world given as a gift by God not only to delight but to instruct.

I

The first section of the Book of Music consisted largely of emblematic pictures and thus most nearly resembled the books of emblems so popular in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries—usually made up of pictures or devices with hidden symbolical significance, accompanied by short verbal interpretations—which were vehicles for abstract concepts or moral lessons. Their aim was, in Horatian tradition, to give pleasure along with usefulness, to feed both mind and eye.[14]

Some emblems, especially those related to occult philosophies, were intentionally esoteric, intended to convey ideas only to the initiated. As Elias Ashmole put it in his alchemical work *Theatrum chemicum Britannicum* (1652), paraphrasing the words of Christ to his disciples: 'Unto you it is given to know the Mysteries of the Kingdome of God; but to others in Parables, that seeing they might not see, and hearing they might not understand.'[15] They were related to the pictorial symbols of the Chaldeans and Egyptians, called *sacræ notæ*,[16] or to their 'marks and characters', traced back to Adam, Noah, or Moses, 'under which all the precepts of their wisdome were contained'.[17] Others were less abstruse, and yet 'wittie' and 'cunning', 'somethinge obscure to be perceived at the first, whereby, when with further consideration it is understood, it maie the greater delighte the behoulder'.[18] Still others were exceedingly

[14] See Henry Peacham, *Minerva Britanna, or a Garden of Heroical Devises* (London, 1612), 'To the Reader'.

[15] 'Prolegomena', fol. A2.

[16] *The Worthy tract of Paulus Jovius contayning a Discourse of rare inventions, both Militarie and Amorous called Imprese Whereunto is added a Preface contayning the Arte of composing them . . . by Samuell Daniell* (London, 1585), prefatory letter to Daniel by N. W.

[17] Henry Reynolds, 'Mythomystes' (1633), *Critical Essays of the Seventeenth Century*, ed. J. E. Spingarn (Oxford, 1908), I, 156.

[18] Geffrey Whitney, *A Choice of Emblemes, and other Devices* (Leyden, 1586), preface.

simple, intended as an aid to 'the weaknes of common understandings'.[19] And so were presented religious truths, maxims of government, morals for everyday life.

Not all emblems were in emblem books: an emblem was so called whether 'embrodered in garmentes, graven in stone, enchased in golde, wrought in Arras'.[20] Mosaics were emblems revealing 'what *Rome, Greece, Palestine*, ere said'.[21] The armorial device, that outward sign of the gentleman, was a kind of emblem, for, as George Puttenham explained in *The Arte of English Poesie* (1589), it combined 'ocular representation' with 'wittie sentence or secrete conceit'.[22] The painter of the Renaissance employed an iconography to be interpreted by whoever wished to study it. 'And, indeed', asked Francis Quarles, in the preface to his book of emblems (1635), 'what are the Heavens, the Earth, nay every Creature, [but] *Hierogliphicks* and *Emblemes* of His [God's] Glory?'

How then is music an emblem? In one sense music is an auditory image illustrating and completing the words of a song to which it is lovingly 'coupled'. Or one might say that the notes and signs written on a page, where 'note' is understood to mean, as Campion explained, 'signum pro signato, *the signe for the thing signified*',[23] are like the *sacræ notæ* of the Egyptians, that they are characters and symbols representing sounds, which can be read and interpreted by the skilled musician. These signs, in themselves, often had significance that did not depend on sound. The medieval theorist Jean de Muris regarded quadrilateral notation as 'arbitrarily representative of numbered sound measured by time'.[24] Thomas Ravenscroft in *A Briefe Discourse* designated the '*Round Circle* . . .O' as the symbol of 'the *perfection* of *Time* (as growing out of *Circular Motion*)', suggestive as in past centuries of all perfection.[25] Other special devices were more obvious to eye than to ear. John Farmer's volume of forty canons, each with two imitative voice parts written upon 'one playnsong', was 'seen' as emblematic device:

[19] *The Theater of Fine Devices . . . by Guillaume de la Perrière . . . translated . . . by Thomas Combe* (London, 1617), 'To the Reader'.

[20] *The Worthy tract of Paulus Jovius*, prefatory letter by N. W.

[21] Andrew Marvell, 'Upon Appleton House', stanza LXXIII.

[22] Book II, chap. xii, *Elizabethan Critical Essays*, ed. G. Gregory Smith (Oxford, 1950), II, 106.

[23] *A New Way of Making Fowre Parts in Counter-point* (1617), preface, in *Campion's Works*, ed. Percival Vivian (Oxford, 1909), p. 192.

[24] *Ars novæ musicæ* (1319), tr. Strunk, *Source Readings*, p. 175.

[25] P. 6.

1. Who so delights in Musickes skill
   and thereof judges right,
   May here perceive a straunge devise
   most plainly in his sight.

2. Two parts in one uppon a ground
   in number fortie wayes,
   A thing most rare surpassing farre
   most songsters now a dayes.[26]

But music was sound, too, what Andrew Marvell described as a 'Mosaique of the Air',[27] not for eye but for ear. These auditory pictures comprised a great volume which was studied and variously interpreted for a hundred years by poets, divines, moralists, and musicians themselves. It was a volume of hieroglyphics for the initiated, cryptic allegories which revealed hidden truths of 'portraitures' for less intellectual 'readers', of parables both pleasing and moral, of demonstrations of natural law or the life of man: a volume that it was man's privilege and man's duty to study. Through the ear he saw with the eye of the mind, and thus, as John Donne explained out of St. Augustine, 'Every sense is called sight'.[28] The 'pealing Organ' and 'full voic'd Quire' of 'Il Penseroso' could, through the *ear*, bring all heaven before the *eyes*.

In its most literal interpretation music was a fleeting echo of the everlasting harmony that surely sounds in heaven, or of the singing of the angels, music that was both actual and symbolic. It 'resembleth in a certaine manner the voices and harmonie of heaven', wrote Thomas Wright.[29] Thomas Adams, preaching in the 1620s with reference to the first chapter of St. Paul's *Epistle to the Romans*, in which St. Paul condemned the heathen because they did not learn the invisible things of God from His visible works, recounted the laudable example of a preacher who, by using the book of music, avoided similar censure, and who, at the conclusion of a concert, exclaimed: 'What music may we think there is in heaven!'[30] Music gave promise of 'celestiall joyz . . . which it dooeth lively resemble'.[31] It was also an introduction to the harmony in which man hoped some time to share. Sir Philip Sidney's biographer, Fulke

[26] *Divers & sundry waies of two parts in one, to the number of fortie, uppon one playnsong* (1591), prefatory verses by Richard Wilkinson.

[27] 'Musicks Empire.'

[28] 'A Sermon preached upon Candlemas day' (1627?), *The Sermons of John Donne*, ed. George R. Potter and Evelyn Simpson (Berkeley, 1953), VII, 346.

[29] *The Passions of the Minde* (London, 1604), p. 164.

[30] *The Works of Thomas Adams*, ed. Joseph Angus (Edinburgh, 1842), I, 337.

[31] Charles Butler, *The Principles of Musik, in Singing and Setting* (London, 1636), p. 1.

Greville, related that Sidney, on his deathbed, called for music,

> to fashion and enfranchise his heavenly soul into that everlasting harmony of angels, whereof these concords were a kinde of terrestriall echo:

'and in this . . . orb of contemplation', concluded Greville, 'he blessedly went on, within a circular motion, to the end of all flesh.'[32]

On a more symbolic level music was an image of all concord and unity whether in heaven or on earth. It was by 'divine sounds' of music that Milton imagined the 'undisturbed Song of pure concent' above.[33] But it made comprehensible as well all agreement, wherever it was found. Humphrey Sydenham in a resounding sermon entitled *The Well-Tuned Cymball* saw in church music not only a resemblance of '*Halleluiahs* above, the Quire and unitie which is in Heaven', but an emblem of unity in the church:

> And as it is a representation of that Unitie above, so is it of concord and charitie here below, when under a consonance of voyce, we find shadowed a conjunction of minds, and under a diversitie of notes, meeting in one Song a multiplicitie of Converts in one devotion, so that the whole Church is not onely one tongue, but one heart.

'I cannot but justle', he concluded, 'with those spirits of *contradiction*, which are so farre from allowing *Harmony*, an *Embleme* of *unity* in the Church, that they make it their chiefe engin of warre and discord.'[34] Notes 'linkt and wedded togeither' seemed 'lively Hierogliphicks of the harmony of mariage'.[35] It was with recognition of music as an emblem of concord that William Byrd, whose metaphysical bent is so often revealed, dedicated his *Psalmes, Songs, and Sonnets* in 1611 to his patron with 'the desire . . . to present your Lordship with a fit Embleme to your minde, . . . which is a Harmony of many excellent Vertues'.

Not everyone attempted rational analysis of music's emblematic meaning. For many music remained one of the 'Mysteries', as it did for George Wither. 'In the Quires and Musicke, used in the Christian Churches', he wrote in *A Preparation to the Psalter* (1619), 'there be great Mysteries . . . that . . . have in them . . . proper representations of somewhat in that triumphant assembly to which we all aspire.'[36] In his book

[32] *The Life of the Renowned Sir Philip Sidney* (London, 1652), *The Workes in Verse and Prose of . . . Fulke Greville, Lord Brooke*, ed. Rev. Alexander B. Grosart (1870), IV, 139.

[33] 'At a Solemn Musick.' For Ficino's contribution to these ideas see my article, 'Ecstasy and Music in Seventeenth-century England', *J.H.I.* VIII (1947), 273–292.

[34] *Sermons upon Solemne Occasions* (London, 1637), p. 23.

[35] *Parthenia*, dedication.

[36] Spenser Society reprint (1884), p. 85.

of emblems he emphasized again the 'Mysticke' implications of music:

> It, also may in *Mysticke-sense*, imply
> What *Musicke*, in our-selves, ought still to be:
> And, that our *jarring-lives* to *certifie*,
> We should in *Voice*, in *Hand*, and *Heart*, agree.[37]

But because music was a model of all harmony, many speculative philosophers sought in it either a more exact understanding of the factors common to all concord or, more frequently, confirmation of explanations inherited from the past. There were various ways of analyzing the essentials of harmonious order, no one of necessity excluding the others. One theory, as we shall see later, was that all harmony depends on numerical proportions. Other notions were less 'scientific' and less concerned with specialized musical procedures.

Harmony in general, it was often said on ancient authority, depended upon the reconciliation of opposites.[38] It resulted from the uniting of things or qualities that were by nature different or discordant. In this sense difference was equated with discord.[39] There were some things that were so antipathetic by nature that they could never be made to agree, but remained discordant always. There could never be harmony, it was believed, between the wolf and the sheep. Even after death this hatred persisted so that notes sounded on strings made of sheep gut were discordant with those sounded on strings of wolf gut. 'Be the musician never so cunning in his skil, yet can he not reconcile them to an unity & concord of sounds.'[40] But wherever opposites were reconciled there was harmony.

This concord derived from essential difference was evident in the sundry motions of celestial bodies; among the four elements where fire and water, earth and air had contrary qualities; among the differing segments

[37] *A Collection of Emblemes* (London, 1635), Book II, p. 82.

[38] Plato (*Symposium* 186B–187C, Loeb ed., p. 127) described this reconciliation of things at variance as an affair of love. The Aristotelian *Problems* (XIX, 38, Loeb ed., p. 403) stated that 'we enjoy harmony, because it is a mingling of opposites which bear a relation to each other.' Cicero wrote (*De re publica*, II.xlii.69, Loeb ed., p. 183): 'Perfect agreement and harmony is produced by the proportionate blending of unlike tones.' Cf. Boethius, *De institutione musica*, Book I, sec. ii, ed. Gottfried Friedlein (Leipzig, 1867), p. 188.

[39] Ben Jonson (*Cynthia's Revels*, V.v, ed. Herford & Simpson, IV. 158–159) distinguished between the possible concord of contraries and the confusion of unreconcilable discords: 'What though all concord's borne of contraries: . . . There is not that analogie, twixt discords, | As betweene things but meerely opposite.'

[40] John Ferne, *Blazon of Gentrie* (London, 1586), part I, p. 41. Cf. Whitney, *Emblemes*, p. 194. The notion of 'inveterate hatred' is attributed to Pliny.

of a state made up of rich and poor, old and young, high and low; in the union of man and woman in matrimony; in the reconciliation of 'discording and repugnant affections unto Reason'.[41] 'All things that moove within this generall globe', wrote La Primaudaye, 'are maintained by agreeing discords.'[42] But nowhere was this agreement more clearly demonstrated than in music, where opposites of high and low, loud and soft, slow and fast, concordant intervals and intervals by nature discordant were blended into a whole that was completely harmonious. 'How doth Musicke amaze us', exclaimed Henry Peacham, 'when of sound discords she maketh the sweetest Harmony?'[43]

What then were the essential characteristics of this order in diversity, in music and hence in all harmony? In answering this question, composers' techniques for ordering sound were largely ignored by the lay philosopher, who relied upon observation of aspects of music that had general application or upon opinions of the ancients. To many 'degree' was the essential quality, what Dr. Helkiah Crooke described as 'a kind of military order'.[44] Steps of the scale, it was said, were established by nature. In four-part writing, each part was harmoniously contributive only when it remained within a prescribed and limited voice range, neither too high nor too low. Each string of a musical instrument functioned satisfactorily only when it was kept at an established pitch. Excess or change of relative position marred the harmony.

This analysis gave support to whose who argued for maintaining social rank, for high and low. Perfect harmony, wrote Sir Thomas Elyot, arises from 'an ordre of astates and degrees', all things in their place, 'higher or lower, accordynge to the soveraintie of theyr natures'. It was for this reason, he believed, that music could give the student knowledge valuable in public affairs. The tutor then

shall commende the perfecte understandinge of musike, declaringe howe necessary it is for the better attaynynge the knowlege of a publike weale: whiche, as I before have

[41] John Guillim, *A Display of Heraldrie* (London, 1610), p. 200.

[42] Peter de la Primaudaye, *The French Academie . . . Newly translated into English by T. B.* (London, 1586), p. 19. Cf. John Norden, *Vicissitudo rerum* (1600), ed. D. C. Collins (1931), st. 87:

> The *Heavens* have their *moovings* contrarie,
> But equally disposed, uphold the rest:
> Where, if they mov'd one way, their harmonie
> All of one straine, of *discord* dispossest,
> They soone would runne to ruine al opprest. . . .

[43] *The Compleat Gentleman* (London, 1634), chap. XI, p. 104.

[44] *A Description of the Body of Man* (London, 1615), Book VIII, quest. 4, p. 699.

saide, is made of an ordre of astates and degrees, and, by reason therof, conteineth in it a perfect harmony . . . In this fourme may a wise and circumspecte tutor adapte the pleasant science of musike to a necessary and laudable purpose.[45]

The breaking of 'degree' in heaven, in the state, in any group working together for a common end, brought ruin, as Shakespeare noted in *Troilus and Cressida:*

> . . . O! When degree is shak'd,
> Which is the ladder to all high designs,
> The enterprise is sick! . . .
> Take but degree away, untune that string,
> And, hark! what discord follows.[46]

Other writers, however, emphasized not the necessity of contraries in harmony, but the importance of interdependence of tones, each contributing its share to the melody of the whole, no one part standing out above the other. Francesco Patrizi, whose treatise on government was translated in 1576 as *A Moral Methode of civile Policie*, having stated his opinion that 'musicke doubtlesse is profitable unto a cyvyll person', argued that it is equality, not degree, that makes concord: it is 'Equality amongst Cytyzens' that 'causeth concord, without the whych, civyll societye is seene to be neyther firme nor stable at al'.[47] The composer Robert Jones, illustrating the common opinion that 'there is Musicke in all thinges', emphasized in the dedication of his *Ultimum Vale or the Third Booke of Ayres* (1608) the need for mutual service both in state and in music:

> Politie or the subject thereof, a Commonwealth, is but a well tunde Song where all partes doe agree, and meete together, with full consent and harmony one serving other, and every one themselves in the same labour.[48]

But concord, on whatever it might depend, was not always maintained. It was frequently observed, as it was by Shakespeare, that one false member in a group, one string of an instrument out of tune, made the whole harmony discordant. As one lax string spoils the music of an instrument, wrote John Case in his *Apologia musices* (1588), or one lax nerve in the body causes paralysis and tremors, so one false member in a state brings confusion and danger. It is for this reason, he argued, that

[45] *The Governour*, Book I, chap. i, ed. Croft, I, 3–4; Book I, chap. vii, ed. Croft, I, 42–43.

[46] I.iii.101–110.

[47] Sigs. B^{v} and Dii^{r}.

[48] Alciati's famous book of emblems (Paris, 1534, p. 26) pictures a blind man carrying a man with no legs. At his belt hangs a stringed instrument, possibly a symbol of mutual aid as well as of blindness.

knowledge of music has use in politics for the preserving of unity.[49] In all society, wrote Samuel Rowley, this law was evident:

> Yet mong'st these many strings, be one untun'd
> Or jarreth low, or higher than his course,
> Not keeping steddie meane among'st the rest,
> Corrupts them all, so doth bad men the best.[50]

What course does one follow, then, in rectifying the wrong? Does one pluck out the string and destroy it, or does one strive to put it in tune? John Ferne demanded, in Machiavellian spirit, that it be destroyed. One discordant man in a commonwealth may cause sedition, he wrote in his *Blazon of Gentrie:*

> If there be but one in a whole common wealth, yet is he able to disturbe the quiet concord & agreement of many thousands of good subjects, even as one string . . . is able to confound the harmony of many other well tuned strings.

This evil member must be rooted out 'by force of strength . . . which cannot be better brought to passe, then by the severing of his head from the shoulders'.[51] John Davies of Hereford expressed the other opinion. Do not tear out the discordant elements ('So bee't they breake not bounds of Charitie'). Have patience; instruction is better than correction. Thus we treat instruments; so must we control people:

> *Instruction* sooner then *Correction* drawes
> Such *Discords* to a perfect *Unity*,
> That yeelds a sweete *Soule*-pleasing harmony:
> For, when a *Violl's* strings doe not concent,
> We doe not rend them straight, but leisurely
> With patience put in tune the *Instrument*;
> So must it be in case of *Government*.[52]

John Donne, preaching on 'God's Justice', used similar argument:

> God is a God of harmony, and consent, and in a musicall instrument, if some strings be out of tune, we do not presently breake all the strings, but reduce and tune those, which are out of tune.

[49] Alciati (Paris, 1534, p. 6) used a stringed instrument to illustrate the truth that the default of one prince in a treaty, just like the breaking of one 'string' in man's body, ruins the whole.

[50] *When you see me, You know me* (1605), 1613 ed., sig. H2.

[51] Part II, p. 41.

[52] *Microcosmos* (1603), *The Complete Works*, ed. Rev. Alexander B. Grosart (1878), I, 46. Cf. John Lyly's *Euphues* (*The Complete Works*, ed. R. Warwick Bond, Oxford, 1902, II, 147): 'Friends must be used, as Musitians tune their strings, who finding them in a discorde, doe not breake them, but either by intention or remission, frame them to a pleasant consent.'

When 'Angels and Men', hopelessly discordant, put the world's instrument out of tune, however, God put in a new string, 'the seed of the woman, the *Messias*'.[53]

From the Book of Music Renaissance man learned many things about those 'sweet Societies that sing' above and about their lesser copies here below.

II

The second part of the Book of Music was related to the first. It had the same cosmic implications; it, too, contributed to an understanding of concord. But the chief emphasis here was not on music as emblem but on music as mathematics. It contained number symbols, numerical ratios and formulae, not for the ear but for the understanding, which represented to men the mathematical ordering of the universe.

It is impossible to give here a history of the use of numbers to explain world order or to disentangle the complex interrelationships of rational, metaphysical, and occult ideas that made up the number heritage of the Renaissance. It is necessary, however, to sketch some background of theory and criticism. Today we feel oriented to the notion that music may be 'angelic' or 'divine', or that our minds are harmonious. We still use the image of a string out of tune to explain abstract discord. We are further removed, however, from Renaissance theories of number and proportion. It is a cliché today to say that music is akin to mathematics, but if, in that remark, we mean anything specific at all, we have in mind a kind of measurement different from that intended by Charles Butler when he referred in the preface to his *Principles of Musik* (1636) to the 'secret Mysteries, which lye hid in this profound Mathematik'. When we read in Batman's translation of Bartholomaeus:

> for Musicke by the which concord & melodie is knowen in sound and in song, it is needfull to know the secret meaning of holy writ, for it is said, that the world is compounded & made in a certaine proportion of harmonie, as Isi[dore] saith.[54]

or in works on musical theory that 'omnis Sonus est Quantus', that sound has length, breadth, and thickness,[55] we feel little sense of contact.

[53] 'Preached at Lincolns Inne Upon Trinity-Sunday. 1620', *Sermons*, ed. Potter & Simpson, III, 148; 'A Lent-Sermon Preached at White-hall, February 12, 1618', II, 170.

[54] *Batman uppon Bartholome, his Booke De Proprietatibus Rerum* (London, 1582), Book XIX, cap. 134, sig. CCCC^{v}.

[55] See Joannes Lippius, *Disputatio musica* (1609–1610), Book II, and *Templum Musicum: or the Musical Synopsis, of the Learned and Famous Johannes-Henricus-Alstedius*, tr. John Birchensha (London, 1664), pp. 15–16.

Yet these ideas, which go back to ancient times, were an essential part of Renaissance thought.

Pythagoras—or more probably one of his followers—made the discovery that tones sounded by musical strings had direct relationship to the length of the string, that a string half as long as another but at the same tension and of the same thickness sounded an octave higher, making the interval called diapason, that one two-thirds as long sounded a fifth or diapente, that one three-fourths as long sounded a fourth or diatesseron. An octave was thus represented by the ratio 1:2, the fifth by 2:3, the fourth by 3:4. Tones were thus measured in space. This discovery was thought to reveal all harmoniousness in the universe. It was on this hypothesis that the Pythagoreans postulated a music of the spheres, and by a reading back into man-made music assumed the stringed instrument to be an imitation of the celestial lyre.

Plato in his *Timaeus* explained the concordant creation of the universe as being based on an arithmetical sequence of numbers from 1 to 27, the squares of these numbers and their cubes built geometrically into pyramids, numbers 'which embrace the secret rhythm in macrocosm and microcosm alike. For the ratios between these numbers contain not only all the musical consonances, but also the inaudible music of the heavens and the structure of the human soul.'[56]

These early theories of measurement had scientific implications, for they explained qualitative differences in terms of mathematical measurement. But it is easy to see how the *Timaeus*, especially, could have led to what E. A. Burtt described as the 'mystical manipulation of numbers, or aesthetic contemplation of geometrical fancies',[57] and how naturally it could accrete occult notions, as it did in the hands of later Platonists, alchemists, astrologers, and magicians who believed that by means of the magical power of numbers they could control spirits or elements, read the stars, or comprehend secrets of life and death.

The basic Pythagorean ideas were repeated by many classical and Neoplatonic writers, from Aristotle to Macrobius, to be absorbed into the philosophy of the early Christians, who found support for it in their Bible in the words, 'Deus omnia in mensura, pondere et numero disposuit'.

[56] Rudolph Wittkower, *Architectural Principles in the Age of Humanism* (London, 1949, Studies of the Warburg Institute, vol. 19), pp. 90–91.

[57] *The Metaphysical Foundations of Modern Physical Science* (London, 1925), chap. II, sec. D, p. 50.

According to these theories, to understand God or the universe, or man himself, it was necessary to understand numbers and their relationships, and numbers were nowhere more available for study than in music, which was based entirely on numerical relationships, in the spatial measurement of intervals and their various proportions, or in metrical measurement in time, which made comprehensible the measurements of all that was intangible or invisible. Arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and music, wrote St. Augustine, are all sciences of number through which 'the mind is raised from the consideration of changeable numbers in inferior things to unchangeable numbers in unchangeable truth itself'.[58] And to the earlier concept of spatial ordering, Dr. Leo Spitzer has pointed out, it was Augustine who added that of order in time, which applied both to music and to poetry, both based on temporal measurement of number.[59] For Boethius, too, music was one of the four mathematical disciplines, and in it he found the pattern both of world harmony (*musica universalis*) and music in man, the relation of body and soul (*musica humana*).[60]

Isidore of Seville's treatise on music in the *Etymologiæ* in the seventh century followed Pythagorean tradition in its relating of musical ratios to those of the universe, and an anonymous theoretical work on music, *Scholia enchiriadis* (*c.* 900), again described the four mathematical sciences ('to speak with Boethius') as dealing with truth that could give an understanding of everything created by God:

> For these four disciplines are not arts of human invention, but considerable investigations of divine works; and by most marvelous reasons they lead ingenious minds to understand the creatures of the world.[61]

These theories persisted throughout the late middle ages, in spite of the domination of Aristotelian logic, both in their original form and combined with notions both occult and 'practical' introduced through Arabian writings.

In the thirteenth century the English theologian Robert Grosseteste believed that the harmonious movements of the celestial spheres had correlative effect on earthly harmonies:

[58] *De Musica*, tr. R. C. Taliaferro (Annapolis, 1939), p. 148.

[59] 'Classical and Christian Ideas of World Harmony', *Traditio* II (1944), 432–433.

[60] *De institutione musica*, Book I, sec. 1–2, pp. 178–189. See Paul Henry Lang, *Music in Western Civilization* (New York, 1941), p. 60.

[61] Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiarum sive originum libri xx*, Book III, sec. 23, tr. Strunk, *Source Readings*, p. 99; *Scholia enchiriadis*, tr. Strunk, pp. 134–135.

Therefore he who knows the due proportion of the elements in the human body and the concord of the soul with the body, can restore any lack of harmony in the same to its proper state. In other words diseases and even wounds and deafness should be curable by music based upon a knowledge of astrology and mathematics.[62]

Roger Bacon in a chapter on mathematics argued, on Augustine's authority, that by study of numbers in music man learns the 'invisible things of God'. Following the opinion of Arabian doctors, he insisted that the physician must be instructed in the proportions of music.[63] Robert of York, in his *Correctorium alchimæ* (*c.* 1348), suggested that both the elements with which the alchemist worked and the projecting rays of the planets, which the astrologer believed dominated the lives of men, might be arranged according to musical proportions.[64]

As a result of a mystical interpretation of Christian Pythagoreanism, it was widely believed that the three notes of the triad revealed the divine Three-in-one of God, that the harmonious sounding together of four parts in music illustrated the harmony of the four elements or the four humours, that the seven steps of the scale, returning at the close to the original tone of the octave, represented the perfect circling of the spheres, the seven spirits about the throne of God, or the seven days of creation. Musicians themselves recognized this function of music. Dr. Manfred Bukofzer has pointed out evidence in medieval music of a conscious attempt to translate symbolic number into musical notation.[65]

With the revival of Neopythagorean and Neoplatonic ideas in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, philosophers, both scientific and meta-

[62] *De artibus liberalibus*, summarized by Lynn Thorndike, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science* (New York, 1923), II, 445.

[63] *Opus majus*, tr. R. B. Burke (Philadelphia, 1928), I, 198; *Opus tertium*, cap. IIX (*Opera*, ed. J. S. Brewer, London, 1859, I, 231–232). Arabian physicians, such as Al Kindi, worked out elaborate charts to clarify the intervallic relationship between cosmic and human elements and those in music (H. G. Farmer, *The Influence of Music; From Arabic Sources*, London, 1926, p. 99). Avicenna, who with Galen provided medical canon for many centuries, explained in detail the relationship of musical rhythm and pulse beat. Galen, he wrote, divided pulse meters into double time, 3/4 time, common time, 4/5, and 5/6 time, and he stated his own belief that 'for those who have sensitive touch and a keen sense of rhythm, with a training in the musical art, such minutiae of observation could be correlated in the mind' (O. Cameron Gruner, *A Treatise on The Canon of Medicine of Avcenna*, London, 1930, sec. 532, pp. 292–293).

[64] See Thorndike, *History of Magic* (New York, 1934), III, 114. Cf. the verse from Thomas Norton's *Ordinall of Alchemy* (1477), reprinted Ashmole, *Theatrum Chemicum*, p. 60: 'Joyne your Elements *Musically*, | . . . *Diapason*, | With *Diapente*, and with *Diatesseron* | With their proporcions causen Harmony, | Much like proportions be in *Alkimy*.'

[65] 'Speculative Thinking in Medieval Music', *Speculum* XVII (1942), 165–180.

physical, first in Italy and then north of the Alps, turned with renewed enthusiasm to mathematics as a key to all knowledge.[66] On it Copernicus based his reasoning in astronomy, Pico della Mirandola his theology, Dürer his aesthetic principles. The 'universal mathematics of nature' was still believed—by occult philosopher, musician, artist—to be revealed in music. Harmony also, wrote Cornelius Agrippa, consists of numbers and is the image of all things.[67] Gioseffo Zarlino, in his *Istitutioni harmoniche* (1558), granted to musical ratios the authority of natural law. They form the basis of everything, he wrote, of the heavens, the four elements, the soul and body of man. Arithmetic, geometry, architecture depend upon musical harmony. The physician must know music if he is to combine medicines, judge the pulse beat, or understand prenatal development, which progresses according to intervals of fourth, fifth, and octave.[68]

Musical proportions were given practical application by Renaissance architects and painters, who went to music to find the secret of ideal beauty. 'The same numbers, by means of which the Agreement of Sounds affects our Ears with Delight, are the very same which please our Eyes and our Minds', wrote the architect Alberti, in 1450. 'We shall therefore borrow all our Rules from the Musicians, who are the greatest Masters of this Sort of Numbers.' He analyzed musical proportions in terms of the numerical relationship of intervals (1:2, 2:3, 3:4, etc.) and applied them to the proportions of open areas and of buildings.[69] Palladio, more than a hundred years later, still insisted, in his *Quattro libri dell'architettura*, that music was the *sine qua non* of an artist's education. Giovanni Lomazzo's *Trattato dell'arte della pittura* (1584) applied musical measurements to portraiture.

[66] Burtt, *Metaphysicall Foundations of Science*, chap. II, sec. C, pp. 41–43.

[67] *Three Books of Occult Philosophy written by Henry Cornelius Agrippa of Nettesheim, Translated out of the Latin into the English Tongue, by J. F.* (London, 1651), chap. XXIV, p. 255. First published 1531.

[68] Book I, chaps. 1–7. The Pythagoreanism of Zarlino and the reaction against it are discussed by Claude V. Palisca in 'Vincenzo Galilei's Counterpoint Treatise', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* IX (1956), 81–96.

[69] *Ten Books on Architecture by Leone Battista Alberti Translated into Italian by Cosimo Bartoli And into English by James Leoni, Venetian Architect* (1726), ed. Joseph Rykovert (London, 1955), Book IX, chap. V, p. 197. The authority here is Vitruvius, but he was less explicit than Renaissance architects in the application of musical proportions to the measurement of space. 'Symmetry', he wrote, 'is the appropriate harmony arising out of the details of the work itself' (*De architectura*, I, c. ii, Loeb ed. I, 27). He regarded knowledge of music as essential in the field of architectural acoustics in the adjusting of '*balistae*, *catapultae* and *scorpiones*' (I. c. i, Loeb ed. I, 12–13).

These Pythagorean theories were given recognition in England when their influence on the continent was waning and when a more empirical approach to measurement was about to appear. To many writers in various fields, however, they gave to music an added dignity and usefulness. 'How valuable a thing music is', wrote Richard Mulcaster, in prefatory verses to Tallis and Byrd's *Cantiones sacræ* (1575), 'is shown by those who teach that numbers constitute the foundation of everything which has form, and that music is made up of these.'[70] 'By the artificialnesse of the number & proportions', wrote Batman, 'it delighteth reason it selfe.'[71] It was for skill in 'measuring' and 'numbering' that John Ferne granted to the musician the standing of a 'gentleman' worthy to bear a coat of arms.[72]

Numbers in music were regarded both as mystic symbol and as mathematical rule. The three parts in music were still considered a revelation of God. 'Musicke breathes heaven, nay more, it doth disclose it', wrote Thomas Palmer in 'An Epigram' to Elway Bevin 'upon his Canons of three parts in one':

> . . . it doth unveile
> Three for her one, or rather three in one:
> A Mystery that Art ne're thought upon.
> Three parts in one, are no Trichotomy
> Of one in three, but a sweet Trinity
> Combin'd in one.[73]

The notes of the octave, because they included 'all manner of harmony, *Diatessaron*, *Diapente*, *Diapason*', represent all perfection, wrote William Ingpen.[74] Charles Butler saw in the 'perpetual order of the notes in the *gam-ut* as of the moonths in the yeere' a circular figure 'which hath no end'.[75]

Metaphysical interpretation of number as revealed in music was basic to occult philosophies in England. The scholar in occultism, John Dee, in his preface to Euclid's *Elements of Geometry*, recommended music, as had St. Augustine, as a key to all number. 'From audible sound, we ought to ascende, to the examination: which numbers are *Harmonious*,

[70] *Vocal Works of William Byrd*, I; tr. Morrison Comegys Boyd, *Elizabethan and Musical Criticism* (Philadelphia, 1940), p. 173 (note).

[71] *Batman uppon Bartholome* (1582), sig. ccccv[v].

[72] *Blazon of Gentrie*, part I, p. 50.

[73] *A Briefe and Short Instruction of the Art of Musicke* (London, 1631), prefatory verses.

[74] *The Secrets of Numbers; According to Theologicall, Arithmeticall, Geometricall and Harmonicall Computations* (London, 1624), p. 48.

[75] *Principles of Musik*, pp. 12–13.

and which not', he wrote, and from there proceed to heavenly harmony or that of 'our Spirituall part'.[76] The Rosicrucian Robert Fludd, seeing in the octave the symbol of completeness, related emblematically the whole of creation to a monochord that reached from earth, through the elements, to the planets above.[77] William Ingpen, in an ardent restatement of the *Occult Philosophy* of Agrippa, considered skill in the art of numbering essential to all knowledge of the secrets of the universe and of man. Man cannot be a 'secret-ary' of the Holy Ghost, he wrote, he cannot use the 'book' of nature, without knowledge of numbers (arithmetical, geometrical, musical, and supernatural), and he constantly implied 'harmonicall number', which is found in music, the 'Imitatrix of the starres, of the soule and body of man.'[78]

Yet a man of affairs and physician, no occultist, John Case, imagined the human soul to be divided into intervals of the fourth and fifth, thus making reason, the highest note, to sound an octave with desire, the lowest.[79] On the continent, the astronomer Kepler, whose thinking, as E. A. Burtt has pointed out, 'was genuinely empirical in the modern sense of the term', found no conflict between metaphysical and scientific. He was convinced that the mathematical harmony in celestial order must be analogous to musical harmony, and in his *Harmonices mundi* (1619), written at about the same time as Fludd's extraordinary work, he attempted to express planetary motions in musical notation.[80] A few years later, in 1627, Mersenne, in a comment on Tycho Brahe written in scientific context, stated his opinion that the musician can give the reasons for the distances between the planets and can thus be called seer and interpreter.[81]

The more practical application of Pythagorean proportion to architecture and painting was well known in England. Lomazzo's work was translated in 1598 and Franciscus Junius' history of ancient painting, which argued similarly, in 1638.[82] Sir Henry Wotton in *The Elements of*

[76] *The Elements of Geometrie of the most auncient Philosopher Euclide of Megara . . . Translated by H. Billingsley* (London, [1570]), sig. Riiv.

[77] *Utriusque cosmi . . . historia* (1617), tract. I, lib. III, cap. iii, p. 90. The elements of water and air each spanned a whole tone, fire a half tone, making an interval of a fourth, which bounded the four elements. The distance from fire to the sun made an interval of a fifth to complete the octave. From sun to empyrean was a second octave.

[78] *Secrets of Numbers*, pp. 85 and 94.

[79] *The Praise of Musicke* (London, 1586), p. 44.

[80] *Metaphysical Foundations of Science*, chap. II, sec. D, pp. 50 and 52.

[81] *Traité de l'harmonie universelle*, Book II, Theorem VI, p. 354.

[82] *A Tracte Containing the Artes of curious Painting . . . by Jo. Paul Lomatius . . . Englished*

Architecture (1624) depended, in his advice for the measurements of doors and windows, on the authority of Alberti, who had learned 'from the Schoole of Pythagoras' that harmony in sight is related to harmony in sound. These proportions depend mainly, wrote Wotton, on the octave, the fifth, and the fourth, which apply as well to architecture as to music. He admitted that this speculation might not appeal to 'vulgar Artizans'. 'Yet wee must remember', he wrote, 'that Vitruvius himselfe doth determine many things in his profession by Musicall grounds.'[83]

Edmund Bolton, in *The Elements of Armories* (1610), theorized on the practical use of musical principles in designing armorial devices, for 'the pleasing and wondrous varieties' possible in a coat of arms depend on secrets of concords which make them 'not onely (as to the unlearned) an entertainment of the eye, but a food, and musicke to the minde'. '*As single notes are no concords, nor proportions in Musicke*', he wrote, '*so single colours have no Armoriall harmonie.*' The interval of the second demonstrates that too close juxtaposition of figure is discordant, for the 'number Two having nothing betweene cannot be said to have any distance, muche lesse proportion . . . cannot decently posesse the whole Field . . . [and] is, by necessary sequel, a discord.'[84]

Nor was the significance of music's temporal measurement ignored. The rhythm of the human pulse was still thought, as in the past, to resemble that of music: 'Each chord's tun'd Pulse' revealed the 'soul' of music; man's pulse revealed harmoniousness of mental or physical condition, as Hamlet testified when he said: 'My pulse, as yours, doth tem-

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by R[ichard] H[aydocke] (Oxford, 1598), p. 33: 'Now the first part from the toppe of the heade to the nose, answereth to the space betwixt that, and the chinne, in a triple proportion, which maketh a *Diapente* and a *Diapason*. That betweene the chinne in a double proportion, which makes a *diapason*: whereunto the head answereth in the same proportion. The three faces betweene the throat pit and the *privities* answere to the second, betwixt them & the knee in a sesquialter proportion; whence ariseth a *Diapente*: but with the legge they are *Unisones*, for it hath the same proportion with the *thigh*.' *The Painting of the Ancients, in three Bookes . . . Written first in Latine by Franciscus Junius, F. F. And now by Him Englished, with some additions and Alterations* (London, 1638), p. 258: 'Wee see therefore, that not onely Musicians from Painters, but also contrariwise Painters from Musicians have borrowed termes of Art; and that for no other cause, but onely to shew that in both those Arts the same respect of that manifold Proportion, which consisteth in numbers, is had.'

[83] Ed. London, 1904, pp. 42–43. Pythagorean influence on Sir Christopher Wren is touched upon by Eduard F. Sekler in *Wren and his Place in European Architecture* (London, 1956), p. 35.

[84] Pp. 169–189.

perately keep time, | And makes as healthful music.'[85] The physician then might still learn from musical rhythms how to measure the pulse. On the continent Mersenne and the great encyclopædist Athanasius Kircher both reflect a persistent recognition of the use of musical number in medical practice. Mersenne (at a time when he was already leaning toward the new scientific approach to musical sound) elaborated in his *Harmonie universelle* (1636) on the physician's need of a knowledge of musical rhythm,[86] and Kircher transcribed, in notes of varying time-value, rhythm, and pitch, fifteen kinds of pulse rhythm, a knowledge of which could assist both in diagnosis and in cure of disease.[87]

Practising physicians in England, however, apparently did not look upon this theory with as much favor. Thomas Campion, who as poet described the Creator as the 'Author of number, that hath all the world in Harmonie framed', who as musician repeated, in his book on counterpoint, the notion that the four voice or instrumental parts in music 'are said to resemble the foure Elements', was, as physician, obviously skeptical of the value of music in judging pulse when he wrote that he himself, the ancients notwithstanding, did not dare attempt 'such farfetcht Doctrine'.[88] But even though exact correlation of bodily and musical rhythm might not have been admitted, the association was often made, and still is today, as is evident in recent studies in music therapy.[89]

The most legitimate use of temporal measurement of music was made by the Elizabethan poet. The poet was indeed a musician and thought of himself as such. George Puttenham was stating a commonplace when he wrote that the poet 'by his measures and concordes of sundry proportions doth counterfait the harmonicall tunes of the vocall and instrumentall Musickes'. These proportions depended in both arts on 'the Mathematicall sciences'. The whole world is made according to number and measure, Puttenham continued, and on them poetry too must be based.[90] In this idea, Campion concurred: 'The world is made by Simmetry and proportion, and is in that respect compared to Musick, and

[85] Edward Benlowes, *Theophila*, st. III; *Hamlet*, III.iv.140–141.

[86] *Harmonie universelle* (Paris, 1636), 'Livre de l'utiliité de l'harmonie', Prop. XIX, p. 46.

[87] *Musurgia universalis* (Rome, 1650), Book I, reg. V, p. 415.

[88] *A Booke of Ayres* (1601), no. XXI, *Works*, p. 17; *A New Way of Making Fowre Parts*, *ibid.*, p. 195; *ibid.*, dedication, p. 191.

[89] See Charles W. Hughes, 'Rhythm and Health', *Music and Medicine*, ed. Dorothy M. Schullian and Max Schoen (New York, 1948), pp. 158 ff.

[90] *The Arte of English Poesie* (*Elizabethan Critical Essays*, ed. G. Gregory Smith, II, 88 and 67).

Musick to Poetry.' He too had in mind mathematical quantities similar in the two arts, even though syllables in poetry and notes in music depend not merely on count but on duration in time:

> When we speake of a Poeme written in number, we consider not only the distinct number of the sillables, but also their value, which is contained in the length or shortnes of their sound. As in Musick we do not say a straine of so many notes, but so many sem'briefes. . . .

Campion turned to music both to illustrate and to prove his argument for the need of 'rests' in verse to perfect 'number':

> For we find in musick that oftentimes the straines of a song cannot be reduct to true number without some rests prefixt in the beginning and middle, as also at the close if need requires.[91]

Any study of the effect of music on metrical structures, on mathematical balance of verse, on prolongation of vowel sounds must be inconclusive. It would be a mistake to press too far the application of Pythagorean number theory to poetry. But when a poet such as Samuel Daniel wrote that 'English verse then hath number, measure, and harmonie in the best proportion of Musicke',[92] 'number' and 'measure' and at times 'proportions' meant to some degree at least mathematical measurement which was the same in the arts and in the universe.

It is obvious that in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries in England, belief in the metaphysical aspects of Pythagoreanism was on the wane. It was accepted most seriously in occult philosophy, the resurgence of which (culminating in the 1650s and '60s) was contrary to the scientific trend of the time. Yet the old idea that numerical ordering of the universe was revealed in music persisted and added essential elements to the fabric of Renaissance thought. This mathematical Book of Music was not yet entirely obsolete.

III

The last part of the Book of Music contained, not imitations of heaven or the universe, not images of eternal qualities of concord or perfection, but reflections and emblems of human frailty and mutability. There was, as always in this metaphysically inclined age, cosmic reference—for man, the 'little world', shared characteristics with the great one—but the chief concern here was with human existence. Man saw in music, as in a

[91] 'Observations in the Art of English Poesie', *ibid.*, 328–329 and 334–335; *Works*, pp. 35 and 39–40.

[92] 'A Defence of Rhyme' (?1603), *Elizabethan Critical Essays*, II, 360.

mirror, his own life. He enjoyed the pleasures of recognition, but he searched, too, for those lessons that could prove the validity of ancient claims that music has moral value, that it is 'profitable for the seeking out of that which is good and honest'.[93]

Music, like the life of man, represented ordering within time. It had beginning, middle, and end (another trinity). It had climax, contrast, measure, and proportion. Music was believed to have human feelings, 'affections' that were revealed in pitch, rhythm, and inflection similar to those of speech, differing from it in degree, not in kind.[94] In these parallels men took a melancholy pleasure and they were convinced that they could learn from them lessons applicable to the ordering of their own behavior.

Music demonstrated more poignantly than any other art the inevitability of death, which comes just as man has reached his 'highest pitch', when life is sweetest. The Elizabethan dwelt much on the 'sweetness' of life and of music. In Samuel Rowley's play, *When you see me, You know me*, the prince comments thus on the music of Dr. Tye:

> . . . methinks in this sound I proove a compleat age,
> As Musicke, So is man govern'd by stops, . . .
> . . . and when he hath attain'd,
> His high and loftie pitch, breathed his sharpest and most
> Shrillest ayre, yet at length tis gone,
> And fals downe flat to his couclusion [*sic*].

Yet there was always more music, a new life:

> Another sweetnesse, and harmonious sound,
> A milder straine, another kind agreement.[95]

George Herbert in melancholy vein saw in music a symbol of all mortality, of the death of all 'sweets', when he wrote 'Vertue':

[93] Henry Peacham, *The Compleat Gentleman*, p. 98.

[94] 'We see', wrote Francis Bacon, 'that tunes and airs even in their own nature, have some affinity with the affections; as there are merry tunes, doleful tunes, solemn tunes, tunes inclining to pity, warlike tunes, &c.' (*Sylva Sylvarum*, Century II, sec. 114, *The Works of Francis Bacon*, ed. Spedding, Ellis, and Heath, New York, 1869, IV, 231). Because 'affections' were revealed in musical inflection, music had been, since Cicero and Quintilian, a model for the orator. According to Cicero, 'the tones of the voice are keyed up like the strings of an instrument, so as to answer every touch. . . . For one kind of tone must be taken by anger . . . another belongs to fear' (*De Oratore*, III.lvii.215–218, Loeb ed., pp. 173 ff.). Quintilian was even more explicit about 'the advantages which our future orator may reasonably expect to derive from the study of Music' (*Institutio Oratoria*, I.x. 22 ff., Loeb ed. I, 171 ff.). Cf. Roger Ascham, *Toxophilus* (1545) (*English Works*, ed. William Aldis Wright, Cambridge, 1904, p. 15).

[95] Sigs. H–H2.

Sweet spring, full of sweet dayes and roses,
A box where sweets compacted lie;
My musick shows ye have your closes,
And all must die.

For the dying John of Gaunt in *Richard II* music was not, as for Sidney, an emblem of eternity but of the passing of life, which is sweetest at the close:

The setting sun, and music at the close,
As the last taste of sweets, is sweetest last,
Writ in remembrance more than things long past.[96]

King Richard himself regretted not having learned from music the lesson that only tragedy can result from anticipating time's natural progress or from attempting to rise above a destined role. Shakespeare, who was more perceptive of musical subtleties than were many more pedantic philosophers, recognized the fact that 'time' has many implications. *Tempus* in music indicated more than mere passing of events. It indicated measured time that was given order and proportion. But *tempus* was also akin to *temperare*, 'to temper', to adjust harmoniously. To temper a string of an instrument meant to put it in tune, to give it proportion in pitch. Richard, who had exceeded the authority of divine law, who had seized property not rightly his, had thus broken the right order of events, taken 'from Time | His charters and his customary rights'; had not let 'tomorrow then ensue today'. It was only 'by fair sequence and succession' that he was a true king. This same Richard, facing death, saw in music a parallel of his own life:

. . . How sour sweet music is
When time is broke and no proportion kept!
So is it in the music of men's lives.

Musical 'Time', he understands now, is more than minutes counted off by a clock: its significance depends on proportion, and proportion involves also tempering, an ordering of 'state' or pitch, a string in tune:

And here have I the daintiness of ear
To check time broke in the disorder'd string;
But for the concord of my state and time
Had not an ear to hear my true time broke.
I wasted time, and now doth time waste me;
For now hath time made me his numbering clock.[97]

And in the end, he, also a disordered string, must be destroyed.

[96] II.i.12–14.
[97] II.i.195–199; V.v.42–50.

John Milton, at the threshold of mature life, on his twenty-third birthday, determined that whatever Time and Heaven decree, his life should be kept in measure, within its destined range:

> Yet be it less or more, or soon or slow,
> It shall be still in strictest measure ev'n
> To that same lot, however mean, or high,
> Toward which Time leads me, and the will of Heav'n.[98]

Music represented also the changing emotional experiences of man. It 'resembleth the change of mens lives and the conversion of manners', wrote Ingpen.[99] In these contrasts music gave comforting demonstration of the value of unhappiness, for it seemed axiomatic that in music, as in all arts and 'sciences', discord (here difference unreconciled, and hence unpleasantness) served to make ensuing concord more sweet. 'A science be constituted', wrote Francis Bacon,

> which may be a receptacle for all such axioms as are not peculiar to any of the particular sciences, but belong to several of them in common . . . For example . . . 'A discord ending immediately in a concord sets off the harmony,' is a rule in Music. The same holds in Ethics and in the affections.[100]

This 'rule' whose 'image' was in music the emblem writer applied to relationships between brethren, friends, and lovers. Henry Peacham, in *Minerva Britanna* (1612), portrayed a music manuscript to illustrate the juxtaposition of concord and discord, explaining that 'the first Discord here taken is from the eleventh to the tenth', the second from the major second to the unison. In this image he saw the sweetness of concord after a quarrel.[101] So it is between lovers, wrote George Wither under an emblem of love:

> Nay, ev'n those *Discords*, which occasion'd are,
> Will make your *Musicke*, much the sweeter, farre,
> And, such a mooving *Diapason* strike,
> As none but *Love*, can ever play the like.[102]

Writers who reflected on musical and human fallibility were aware that all music was produced by an instrument (whether voice or viol)

[98] 'How soon hath Time the suttle theef of youth', 9–12.

[99] *The Secrets of Numbers*, p. 8.

[100] *De augmentis scientiarum*, Book III, chap. i, *Works*, VIII, 472–447.

[101] P. 204.

[102] *A Collection of Emblemes*, Book II, p. 82. John Lyly used the same image in his *Euphues* (*Works*, II, 151): 'In Musicke there are many discords, before there can be framed a *Diapason*, and in contracting of good will, many jarres before there be established a friendship, but by these meanes, the Musicke is more sweet, and the amitie more sound.'

and that its perfection depended both on the condition of the instrument and on the performer's skill. Whether performed 'by Voyces, or Instruments', warned William Byrd, 'the best Song that ever was made will seeme harsh and unpleasant' if it is not 'well expressed'.[103] The music of man's life depended also on instrument and musician, on physical elements (body or senses), and on their government by his own reason, by other people, or by God.[104]

On this parallel emblem writers and others platitudinized often and at length. Henry Hawkins, in his *Partheneia Sacra* (1633), argued the necessity of intelligent performance, whether the instrument be harp or faculties of the soul. What is true for one must be true for the other:

> And Man is a Harp; the Powers and Faculties of the Soule, the strings; the Reason, the Harper. If Reason then playes wel his part, which makes the honest man, Oh what a harmonie there is in al, & especially where the tongue and hart agree togeather? . . . Is it so in the Harp, & not in the Organ of the voyce?[105]

Be the skill of the musician what it might, however, it was obvious that an instrument out of tune gave no pleasure either to performer or to listener. With an untempered body the soul itself could be perverted 'even as a *musitian* misseth of true musick, when his harp is out of tune'. 'The *soule* therefore must be carefull of the body, and make it a fit *instrument* for her selfe . . . *slackening*, and sometimes *winding* up, according as necessity requires.'[106] Nor was an instrument out of tune any glory to God. 'For to glorify God', wrote Richard Sibbes,

> is an action that cannot proceed but from a disposition of nature that is altered and changed. The instrument must be set in tune before it can yield this excellent music.[107]

Henry Peacham, moralizing upon the emblematic harp lying alone in the wilderness, imagined man tuned directly by the hand of God, 'from discord drawne, to sweetest unitie'.[108] John Donne, in a 'Hymne to God my God, in my sicknesse', tuned his own thoughts to God, knowing that no instrument can take part in an ensemble with which it is not in tune:

[103] *Psalmes, Songs, and Sonnets*, 'To all true lovers of Musicke'.

[104] See my article, 'A World of Instruments', *ELH* XX (1953), 87–120.

[105] Pp. 140–141.

[106] *The Nature of Man. A learned and usefull Tract written in Greek by Nemesius . . . Englished . . . by Geo: Wither* (London, 1636), p. 126.

[107] 'Angels Acclamations', *Complete Works*, ed. A. B. Grosart (Edinburgh, 1862), VI, 331.

[108] *Minerva Britanna*, p. 45. A verse in Thomas Jenner's book of emblems (*The Soules Solace* [London, 1631], p. 27) describes man tuned by God's minister, and concludes with the moral: 'As *Instruments*, unless in tune, are slighted: | So *men*, except *new made*, ne're God delighted.'

Since I am comming to that Holy roome,
Where, with thy Quire of Saints for evermore,
I shall be made thy Musique; As I come
I tune the Instrument here at the dore,
And what I must doe then, thinke here before.[109]

From instrumental music man learned more homely lessons as well. He learned that diligence pays, in personal life as in government. As a 'Lute . . . caste aside', because it 'lack'de bothe stringes, and frettes,' 'being tun'de' sounded so harmoniously that 'trees their toppes did bende', so it is with man, argued Geoffrey Whitney in *A Choice of Emblemes*:

Even so, the man on whome dothe Nature froune,
Whereby, he lives dispis'd of everie wighte,
Industrie yet, maie bringe him to renoume.
And diligence, maie make the crooked righte.[110]

Man learned, however, as the musician learns, that constant tuning of strings, constant use of bow and instrument, may retard success. There must be moderation even in one's striving, a lesson that the nightingale also had taught, for

Sometimes to sing she straineth so her throte,
That therewithall her song and life doth end.[111]

Man, as well as instrument, must have rest and relaxation. The muse, wrote John Davies of Hereford cannot 'be ever on her Wings':

Wee Bowes unbend, and slack the Viols Strings?
That usèd so, wee may them longer use.[112]

John Donne illustrated thus the maxim that too much practice does not make perfect:

. . . Release your strings
Musicians, and dancers take some truce
With these your pleasing labours, for great use
As much wearinesse as perfection brings.[113]

Yet, as Timon of Athens remarked cynically, a friend, like an instrument, is of no value if it is not used, for friends

were the most needless creatures living should we ne'er have use for 'em, and would most resemble sweet instruments hung up in cases, that keep their sounds to themselves.[114]

[109] *The Poems of John Donne*, ed. Sir Herbert Grierson (Oxford, 1949), p. 336.

[110] P. 92. The same proof that industry corrects nature appears in the emblems of Joannes Sambucus [1564] (*Les Emblemes de Signeur Jehan Sambucus*, Anvers, 1567, p. 61).

[111] Perrière, *Theater of Fine Devices*, Embleme XXXIIII.

[112] 'Inough's as good as a feast', *Wittes Pilgrimage*, p. 53 (*Works*, ed. Grosart, II).

[113] 'Epithalamion made at Lincolnes Inne', 63–66, *Poems*, ed. Grierson, pp. 127–128.

[114] *Timon of Athens*, I.ii.100 ff.

Timon was confident, apparently, of his own ability to 'use' his friends, to play upon them. He was to this extent a musician as Guildenstern in *Hamlet* was not. To play on either artificial or human instrument, Hamlet demonstrated from music, demands skill and understanding. You do not attempt to play a recorder, he argued to his friend, of which you profess ignorance, and yet

> You would play upon me; you would seem to know my stops; you would pluck out the heart of my mystery . . . 'Sblood! do you think I am easier to be played on than a pipe?[115]

Not everyone found in music a guide to conduct, a way to 'that which is good and honest'. Fulke Greville condemned poetry and music alike because they make no impression

> Really, either to enrich the Wit,
> Or, which is lesse, to mend our states by it.[116]

In many an emblem book lute and viol were symbols, not of a man of 'tempred judgement', but of vanity, instability, 'wits sour delights'.[117] It was frequently observed that skill in tuning an instrument was rarely transferred to tuning of manners. The most ill-regulated dispositions, it was contended, were those of musicians 'who onelye study to have their stringes in tune, never framing their manners to order', who

> *by their* Discord *make that* Art uneven,
> *Whose* Concord *should expresse that* Peace *in* Heaven.[118]

As time passed, moreover, the Book of Music went out of fashion. The 'new Philosophy' brought it, too, 'in doubt': more rational theories of sound, long evident, were to strip music of metaphysical association and moral implication.[119]

As old books were put away new ones were opened. These new books of science pictured a different universe, based on different mathematical formulae. The order of the 'numbering clock' replaced the rhythm of

[115] III.ii.365 ff.

[116] 'Treatie of Humane Learning', st. 111 (*Poems and Dramas*, ed. Bullough, I, 181).

[117] Henry Vaughan, 'The World'. In emblem books Hercules was portrayed choosing between Virtue, holding a book, and Vice, with mask and lute. A lady balanced precariously on a ball, reaching for scepter and fiddle bow, represented one caught by trivialities. See Gabriel Rollenhagen, *Nucleus emblematum* (1611), pp. 7 and 14. Wither used Rollenhagen's plates and drew similar morals.

[118] Lyly, *Campaspe*, v.i, *Works*, II, 350; William Austin, prefatory verse to Thomas Ravenscroft, *A Briefe Discourse*.

[119] A study of these changing attitudes is the subject of an article in preparation.

music. Having cast aside the volumes of the past, philosophers had to start again to understand their universe and themselves, in volumes fascinating but still mysterious and obscure, understood only gradually, and then only by the trained scientist or philosopher. Many a bewildered man found himself, as did Joseph Glanvill, gazing at a dark and mysterious universe, 'the plainest things . . . obscure', as much a stranger to himself '*as to the inhabitants of* America'.[120] The knowledge of God through His works, that 'bright leme of a torche or candel' given by God to all 'the blynde inhabitantes of this worlde',[121] was no longer visible. But while it shone it gave man a sense of understanding of himself and a contact with universe and heaven that modern man may envy.

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[120] Joseph Glanvill, *Scepsis Scientifica: or, Confest Ignorance, the Way to Science* . . . (London, 1665), prefatory address.

[121] Sir Thomas Elyot, *The Governour*, ed. Croft, I, 3.

Fame, Poetry, and the Order of History in the Literature of the English Renaissance

FAME is surely one of the key words of medieval and Renaissance thought, like Love, Nature, Fortune, Envy. Such terms had for centuries a life of their own which they no longer appear to have; it is as if the years of myth-making, allegorizing, personifying gave them a concrete reality that our more positivistic age cannot accept. In spite of the difficulties of isolating such a term as Fame in the welter of material available, I would like to discuss some uses of it in the English literature of the later middle ages and Renaissance.

Generally, Fame is used in four different contexts:

1. the equivalent of rumor or report as in Ovid and Vergil. This use is widespread, though not difficult; details from these descriptions influenced the allegorical figure of Fame in Chaucer, Hawes, *A Mirror for Magistrates*, Cotton, Butler as well as Rumor in Shakespeare.[1]

2. personal Fame, more or less equivalent to glory, honor, reputation, renown. This idea occurs in both Homeric and Germanic epic,[2] but its implications are much intellectualized in the period under discussion.

3. national Fame, a Roman idea that is revived by the nationalism of the sixteenth century.

4. heavenly Fame, an essentially Christian idea that offers few difficulties.

This study will deal almost exclusively with 2 and 3.

It is probably an oversimplification to say with Burckhardt that a de-

[1] Vergil, *Aeneid*, IV, 174–188; Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, XII, 43–63; Chaucer, *The House of Fame*, 1365–1392; Stephen Hawes, *The Pastime of Pleasure*, ed. W. E. Mead (London, 1928), 155–175; *Parts Added to The Mirror for Magistrates by John Higgins & Thomas Blennerhasset*, ed. Lily B. Campbell (Cambridge, 1946), pp. 67–68; Charles Cotton, 'Virgil Travestie', *Works* (London, 1715), pp. 73–74; Butler, *Hudibras*, corrected and amended by Zachary Grey (London, 1772), II, i, 45–76; Shakespeare, *2 Henry IV*, Induction.

[2] See, for example, *Iliad*, XII, 310–328; *Beowulf*, 1386–1389.

sire for personal fame belongs primarily to the Renaissance.[3] On the other hand, there is certainly a strong body of opinion in the dark and middle ages that despises the things of the world, and the fact that learning during this time is largely the province of ecclesiastics undoubtedly tends to give prominence to such a point of view. William of Malmesbury, for instance,[4] finds the leaders of the First Crusade greater than the ancients because they worked for heavenly glory, not earthly fame, adding somewhat idealistically as evidence that they showed no wish to plunder or dispute among themselves. After mentioning the feast of 30,000 dishes celebrated at the marriage of Richard, Earl of Cornwall, to Cynthia of Provence,[5] Matthew of Paris reflects how transitory such things are since everything was gone by the next day. Yet if we look at the more secular writers, Geoffrey of Monmouth on the subject of Arthur, or Froissart in detailing the wars of England and France,[6] we see that a desire to rescue from oblivion, to deal out a measure of commemorative justice, is an important motive.

Burckhardt points to Dante's desire for poetic fame as an example of the new spirit; perhaps an even more astonishing aspect of Dante's attitude is the extent to which he includes his contemporaries in *The Divine Comedy*. In dealing with Fame the medieval mind tended to think in terms of well-worn examples, such as the Nine Worthies or the heroes of mythology; even the list in Petrarch's *Triumph of Fame* is academic and rhetorical;[7] but Dante assumes the right not only to pass a moral judgment on his contemporaries but to preserve for posterity even the insignificant, like flies in amber, to borrow a phrase from Pope. In the matter of historical judgments, the middle ages were cautious, hesitating to 'expose', 'debunk', or differ from a generally accepted verdict; it is not fanciful, I believe, to see in this audacious (and perhaps poetically unwise) practice of Dante's the beginning of something like the modern notion of historic truth, in which the historian arrives at his own verdict on the basis of the evidence. At any rate in the Renaissance it seems to be

[3] Burckhardt, *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*, tr. S. G. C. Middlemore (London, 1945), p. 93.

[4] William of Malmesbury, *Chronicle of the Kings of England*, tr. J. A. Giles (London, 1847), p. 392.

[5] Matthew Paris, *English History from the year 1235–1273*, tr. J. A. Giles (London, 1889), I, 461.

[6] Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Historia Regum Britanniae*, IX, chap. 11; Jean Froissart, *Les Chroniques*, prologue.

[7] It is only at the end of Part II that he mentions any one as late as the crusades.

more often the historian than the poet who follows Dante in this respect, and it is at such times that the idea of Fame becomes least the rhetorical or poetic stereotype.

The first considerable treatment of Fame in English is in Chaucer's *The House of Fame*. Fame does not appear to be an important concept for Chaucer,[8] and though his poem is sometimes connected with Dante, its spirit, as far as Fame is concerned, is totally different. The poem is a dream allegory, and in his dream the poet is caught up by a loquacious eagle and borne through the heavens to the House of Fame, which is built on ice. Swarming around it he sees famous bards, harpers, pipers, also magicians, sorcerers. Inside, the hall is magnificently decorated with golden walls set with jewels; it is lighted by a rich carbuncle. Fame is seated on a dais, her head touching heaven; on all sides 'hevenyssh melodye' is sounding from the Nine Muses. There are seven pillars on the dais, occupied respectively by Josephus, Statius, Homer, Vergil, Ovid, Lucan, and Claudian. Suddenly a great noise is heard and a crowd of people approach. Nine different groups detach themselves and, approaching Lady Fame, ask either that they be remembered or forgotten. Through her two ministers, 'Clere Laude' and 'Sklaundre', with golden trumpet and with black, with clouds of balm or foul smoke, Fame acts as she sees fit, by no means in accordance with the wishes of her petitioners.

There are two points to be noted in this scene: first, the ministers of Fame are largely poets, and second, she is completely capricious in her favors. Good deeds are no guarantee of a clear fame; as the goddess points out (1616–1617),

> Good werkes shal yow noght availle
> To have of me good fame as now.[9]

Whether the converse is true, that ill deeds can have a fair reputation, is not so certain. The 'ydel', who have done nothing all their lives, are given the name of those who have been successful in love, but the traitors to their country, those guilty of the most heinous of all crimes by medieval standards, are condemned to infamy (1819–1822):

> 'Nay, wis,' quod she, 'hyt were a vice.
> Al be ther in me no justice,
> Me lyste not to doo hyt now,
> Ne this nyl I not graunte yow.'

[8] *Honour* and *renoun* in the sense of a personal ethic seem much more important than Fame in Chaucer.

[9] All references are to the F. N. Robinson text (Boston, 1957).

Yet on the whole the stress is on the arbitrary nature of Fame; she is in fact 'ryght as her suster, dame Fortune'.[10]

Many architectural details of *The House of Fame* were imitated in the allegorical temples and palaces of the fifteenth century,[11] but usually in a court of love context. For ideas of Fame one must turn to treatments of historical materials, such as Lydgate's *Fall of Princes*. Actually Fame is not very important for Lydgate: the glory of princes, he points out on one occasion,[12] rests on the 'low labour of commons' or on clerks who have written histories, but as a poet he shows no great desire for personal immortality, to be more than a humble recorder and compiler. As Professor Farnham has pointed out,[13] Lydgate is more within the tradition of *de contemptu mundi* than his master Boccaccio; there is certainly no attempt to see in the workings of Fame the assertion of a moral order.

A more original treatment of Fame is in Stephen Hawes' *Pastime of Pleasure*. For all its stuffiness and pedantry *The Pastime of Pleasure* is a more original poem than it is generally conceded to be. Hawes combines with a fair degree of success religious allegory and the romance; he puts the joyous naturalism of the court of love within a Christian framework, and in Graunde Amour's quest for La Belle Pucelle there is possibly even a touch of the Platonic quest for the ideal. In the allegory Fame plays an important part. She presides over the active life, ready to show the way 'unto the toure of fayre dame beaute'; and when she appears to Graunde Amour, she urges him and all those 'surmountynge in nobesse' (*sic*) to follow the example of the men of antiquity and the noble paynims and win 'the hyenesse of worthy fame'. After Graunde Amour's death she is again introduced to show that he will gain a place in immortality alongside the Nine Worthies. In general, Hawes appears eager to show that a desire for Fame is in itself praiseworthy and that good and virtuous deeds will win their reward on earth as well as in heaven. At the same time, in an interesting and important digression (3109 ff.), he has the god Mars explicitly deny the claim of Fortune to govern men's affairs (3212–3213).

> The man is fortune in the propre dede
> And not thou that causeth hym to spede.

[10] For the traditional association of Fame and Fortune see Howard R. Patch, *The Goddess Fortuna in Mediaeval Literature* (Cambridge, Mass., 1927), pp. 64, 110–112.

[11] William Allen Neilson, *The Origin and Sources of the Court of Love* (Boston, 1899), pp. 143 ff.

[12] John Lydgate, *The Fall of Princes*, ed. Henry Bergen (Washington, D. C., 1923), I, 221–222.

[13] Willard Farnham, *The Medieval Heritage of Elizabethan Tragedy* (Berkeley, 1936), pp. 166–169.

Lydgate had emphasized man's freedom for moral action,[14] but he had never denied the power of Fortune.

Other early sixteenth-century treatments of Fame are less novel. In Skelton's *Garland of Laurel* Pallas leads the poet to Fame's palace, which is much like Chaucer's House of Fame, richly decorated and swarming with people desiring entry. Eventually the poet is taken inside and after celebrating the beauty of certain court ladies he is given a laurel wreath. Skelton has something of Chaucer's lightness of touch and the poem is an interesting treatment of the poetic process, but the Fame it centers on is nothing more than conventional poetic fame.

Sir David Lyndsay's *Squire Meldrum* seems a rather odd poem to find at this time because its subject, Sir William Meldrum, is not really an 'example' of much of anything, certainly not of the power of Fortune. The versified biography is written in the style of a romance, but the descriptions have a reality about them that romances usually lack. The introductory lines (1–12) are worth quoting.

> Quho that Antique Stories reidis
> Considder may the famous deidis
> Of our Nobill Progenitouris,
> Quhilk suld to vs be richt mirrouris,
> Thair verteous deidis to ensew,
> And vicious leuing to eschew.
> Sic Men bene put in memorie,
> That deith suld not confound thair glorie.
> Howbeit thair bodie bene absent,
> Thair verteous deidis bene present.
> Poetis, thair honour to auance,
> Hes put thame in rememberance.

The sentiment is commonplace, like the reference to Fame in the *Testament*, with which the poem concludes; the remarkable thing is that, unlike the poems of Lydgate, *Squire Meldrum* individualizes as it commemorates.

With the Elizabethan age and the enormous increase of poetic output there is a growing consciousness of the poet's connection with Fame. This idea operates in three general areas: 1. the erotic poetry, especially the sonnet, in which the poet celebrates the fame of his mistress; 2. the tradition of 'tragedy', deriving from Lydgate and Boccaccio, in which the poet uses Fame to show the workings of a moral order; 3. the Sidneian-

[14] See his attitude toward Messalina (III, 785–786).

Spenserian tradition, with more complex origins,[15] in which the poet uses Fame to mold and inspire youth, also to celebrate national greatness.[16]

The love poetry can be dismissed rapidly. The poet's power to confer fame becomes a commonplace in the sonnet sequences, though it is perhaps worth mentioning that Fame is a much less common theme in Wyatt, Surrey, Sidney, and Spenser than in Daniel and Shakespeare. In fact, Shakespeare's sequence stands alone in its awareness of time and of the kind of immortality that poetry can give.[17] It would be an endless task to catalogue all such allusions; even as late as Pope's *Rape of the Lock*, we find the poet repeating the age-old vaunt:

> This Lock, the Muse shall consecrate to fame,
> And midst the stars inscribe Belinda's name.

For some time scholars have recognized the importance of *A Mirror for Magistrates* in expressing the new poetic and historical consciousness that was developing in sixteenth-century England.[18] Ostensibly a continuation of Lydgate's *Fall of Princes*, it repeatedly seems to be striving for a new subject matter and a new mode of expression. Fame is much more important to the authors of the *Mirror* than to Lydgate. Thomas Montague, Earl of Salisbury in the 1559 edition, Anthony Woodville, Lord Rivers, Lord Hastings, and Jane Shore in the 1563 additions are all concerned with Fame in various ways. Jane Shore is perhaps the most medieval: she is conscious of her sins and her bad name and asks for pity. The others attempt to set a reputation right, the Earl of Salisbury for his father, Rivers and Hastings for themselves. Salisbury is puzzled by the 'chaunging names of innocence and crime', and Hastings asks Baldwin to

> shyeld my torne name,
> From sclaunderous trompe of blastyng black defame.[19]

[15] Sidney and Spenser are much more widely read in the classics and the new learning of the Renaissance.

[16] Apparently Boccaccio was one of the first to revive the classical connection of poetry and the health of the state (see Charles G. Osgood, *Boccaccio on Poetry*, Princeton, 1930, p. xliii).

[17] See particularly 54–65. A classic presentation of the poet's service to his mistress' fame is canto 42 of the *Orlando Furioso*.

[18] See introduction to *The Mirror for Magistrates*, ed. Lily B. Campbell (Cambridge, 1938); Farnham, pp. 271–303; Louis R. Zocca, *Elizabethan Narrative Poetry* (New Brunswick, N. J., 1950), pp. 16–35.

[19] *The Mirror for Magistrates*, pp. 144, 293.

Thus Fame and historic truth are on their way to becoming a part of a rational moral order instead of being the fleeting phenomena of a transitory world as they had often seemed in the middle ages. As Baldwin says in the preface to the 1559 edition, 'good governors have never lacked their deserved renowne, so have not the bad escaped infamy', and he promises all rulers that virtuous behavior shall be 'for your good, and to your eternall glory both here and in heaven'.[20]

Two figures in the collection who are symptomatic of the new attitudes at work are the poet Collingbourne and the man called simply the Blacksmith. Collingbourne had been executed with great cruelty by Richard III for having written the couplet:

> The Cat, the Rat, and Lovel, our Dog
> Do rule al England, vnder a Hog.

He appears in the *Mirror*, holding in his hand 'his owne hart, newely ripped out of his brest, and smoaking forth the lively spirit', and after telling his story discourses in a remarkable passage on the power and 'auncient liberties' of poetry. The Blacksmith (actually Michael Joseph) had been one of the leaders of the Cornish revolt of 1497. He was hanged at Tyburn, and, instead of repenting as he mounted the platform, stoutly maintained that he was glad of his part in the rebellion since it had won him 'fame that never should decay'. It is interesting that the stories of these two men should be chosen from the mass of available material in the chronicles, because they are English counterparts of two figures that were virtually proverbial in Renaissance manuals of historiography. Collingbourne corresponds to Cremutius Cordus, the Roman historian who was put to death by Domitian for daring to tell the truth, and the Blacksmith, as he himself points out, is an English Herostratus, the man who burned the temple of Diana at Ephesus in order to win immortality. Both of these are from the 1563 additions, which are the liveliest and most experimental parts of the *Mirror*.

We cannot follow the numerous revisions of the *Mirror* and its progeny, as Professor Farnham calls the additions and imitations, but we should mention the *débat* between Fame and Fortune in Drayton's *Legend of Robert, Duke of Normandy* (1596, revised 1605). The poet has fallen asleep on the banks of the Thames, and he sees in a dream two figures approaching him. One of them, a lady 'of a Princely Port', is Fame; the

[20] *Ibid.*, pp. 64–65, 67.

other, a kind of jester, is Fortune. Fortune upbraids Fame, calls her a bubble and her subject, since it is Fortune who rules with the Fates. Fame is not to be put down. Fortune, she says, is only a name, made a god by those who worship nature, not the true God. She is associated with Sloth 'in her sleepy Cell', with Superstition, with Cowardice (in effect, with the cloister of the middle ages), and she is an enemy to virtue. In a noble stanza Fame vindicates her own tie to heaven and to a divine purpose.

> But I alone the Herald am of Heaven,
> Whose spacious Kingdome stretcheth farre and wide,
> Through ev'ry Coast upon the light'ning driven,
> As on the Sunne-beames, gloriously I ride,
> By them I mount, and downe by them I slide,
> I register the Worlds long-during houres,
> And know the hie Will of th'immortall powers.[21]

Her palace is hung with arms and with great thoughts, and it is through her that worldly wrong and the power of tyranny can be defied. And when Fame claims the guiding hand in Count Robert's life, she cites the example of Robert's great deeds during the crusades and tells Fortune to get back to the foolish world where she belongs. Fame has Robert after his death.

Whatever Drayton's historical accuracy may be, the passage is certainly a clear statement of the place of Fame in the moral order. Somewhat the same idea occurs in an interesting passage in Shakespeare's *Richard III*, a play that was probably written three or four years earlier than Drayton's legend.

The young King Edward v has asked his uncle Gloucester and the Duke of Buckingham whether it is known through record or tradition that Julius Caesar built the Tower. 'Upon record', Buckingham (somewhat erroneously) replies, at which the king expresses his faith in the power of truth to prevail, even if not written down.

> But say, my lord, it were not registered,
> Methinks the truth should live from age to age,
> As 'twere retailed to all posterity,
> Even to the general all-ending day.

Gloucester is driven to admit that 'fame lives long', and Edward repeats his point in reference to Julius Caesar.

[21] *Works*, ed. J. William Hebel (Oxford, 1932), II, 391.

> With what his valour did enrich his wit,
> His wit set down to make his valour live:
> Death makes no conquest of this conqueror,
> For now he lives in fame.[22]

The lines are surely slanted at Gloucester. The irony is that Gloucester is making the assumption of the power politician: that it is possible to do what you like and get away with it, both in this life and the life in fame.[23] The playwright implies the pattern of divine justice aided by the historian: Gloucester will be slain at Bosworth and he will go down to posterity as the pattern of the wicked ruler. As Dr. Tillyard says, the passage 'takes us to the centre of contemporary opinions of history'.[24]

The tradition of tragedy is fairly dark and gloomy, with Fame acting as an agent of justice; a more positive use is the glorification of Fame as a stimulus to achievement. She works upon both the man of action and the man of letters, stirring them to noble deeds that will win for them immortality and at the same time inspire future generations. In this context a desire for Fame is essentially good: Fame is not separated from Truth or Virtue, nor does earthly Fame necessarily compete with heavenly immortality. In the hierarchy of moral values Fame is never elevated to the status of Truth, Virtue, or Salvation, but as a means to them and a by-product of them she has a dignified place of her own. There is something rather Platonic about Fame in this aspect, as she leads and directs man's spirit upwards, and, as in the passage quoted from Drayton above, we often find her associated with sidereal imagery and the Platonic blaze of light.

The ideal operates within the general context of Renaissance education as well as the specific context of English nationalism. Pyrocles and Musidorus in Sidney's *Arcadia* are brought up to be 'Lords of truth' and so that 'all the sparks of vertue' in them might be 'blowne forth'. From an early age 'images of battailes, & fortifications' are set before them, and they are trained on 'al the stories of worthy Princes, both to move them to do nobly, & teach them how to do nobly'.[25] Fame is not specifically mentioned, though it is certainly implied in their desire 'to do

[22] *Richard III*, III, i.

[23] See my article, 'The King of Brobdingnag and *Secrets of State*', *Journal of the History of Ideas* XVIII (1957), 572–579.

[24] E. M. W. Tillyard, *Shakespeare's History Plays* (New York, 1946), p. 203.

[25] Ed. Albert Feuillerat (Cambridge, 1922), pp. 189–190. The somewhat anti-intellectual Philocosmus in Daniel's 'Musophilus' (*Poems and a Defence of Ryme*, ed. Arthur C. Sprague,

nobly', and in the preceding chapter the word is used in reference to the notable wars fought by the two princes' fathers at the time of their birth. Roger Mortimer in Drayton's *Mortmeriados* is moved with the same spirit.

> The temper of his nobler mooving part,
> Had that true tutch which purified his blood,
> Infusing thoughts of honor in his hart,
> Whose flaggie feathers were not soyld in mud,
> The edge he bare declar'd the mettall good;
> The towring pitch wherein he flew for fame,
> Declar'd the ayrie whence the Eagle came.[26]

Even Tamburlaine views his high exploits in terms that might have come from Castiglione.

> And every warrior that is rapt with love
> Of fame, of valour, and of victory,
> Must needs have beauty beat on his conceits:
> I thus conceiving, and subduing both, . . .
> Shall give the world to note, for all my birth,
> That virtue solely is the sum of glory,
> And fashions men with true nobility.[27]

In his celebrated description of Fame in *Lycidas* ('*Fame* is the spur' etc.), Milton writes from the point of view of the poet rather than the warrior, and it is a little hard to know where he wishes to put the emphasis, whether he wishes to stress the limitations of worldly fame or simply to see Fame in its proper place under the shadow of eternity; but the passage is a tissue of Renaissance associations. 'Clear' in such a context ('that the clear spirit doth raise') is a favorite adjective of Daniel and Drayton; we have already mentioned the light imagery ('sudden blaze', 'glistering foil'); is the 'plant' ('*Fame* is no plant') an unconscious reminiscence of Ariosto's tribute to Lucrezia Borgia?[28]

Cambridge, Mass., 1930, p. 84) admits a certain virtue in the setting up of patterns of heroic action.

> Yet do I not dislike that in some wise
> Be sung the great heroycall deserts
> Of braue renowned spirits, whose exercise
> Of worthy deedes may call vp others hearts,
> And serue a modell for posterities
> To fashion them fit for like glorious parts.

[26] *Works*, ed. Hebel, I, 311.

[27] Marlowe, *1 Tamburlaine*, v.ii.117–120, 125–126.

[28] 'Her beauty, her virtue, her good fame, her fortune will ever increase, like a young plant in fertile soil.' Quoted by J. Lucas-Dubreton, *The Borgias*, tr. Philip John Stead (New York, 1955), p. 295.

For Fame as a nationalistic concept one thinks inevitably of Spenser: of Gloriana, Cleopolis, Prince Arthur, the British kings, the coming war between Britons and Saxons, in all their ramifications as they spread throughout *The Faerie Queene*. A less familiar example is *Prothalamion*, where the idea of Fame helps to give a backbone to a poem that is sometimes seen as little more than a dish of whipped cream. The poet is walking along the banks of the Thames in a fit of discontent when he sees the swans come 'softly swimming downe along the Lee'. He follows them to London where they are joined to their young men in a kind of ritual marriage. The theme is England's greatness: a functioning nobility that will breed heroes so that

> great *Elisaes* glorious name may ring
> Through al the world,

and a poet to celebrate their deeds to 'ages following'. Presumably the vision clears the poet of his private troubles.

The same mixture, though perhaps a lesser *cru*, is found in Drayton's fine ode *To the Virginian Voyage*. Here the vision of the earthly paradise that is Virginia also culminates in the birth of heroes and the coming of a poet, unquestionably to sing their fame. The ode closes with a dignified and courteous address to 'industrious HACKLUIT',

> Whose Reading shall inflame
> Men to seeke Fame,
> And much commend
> To after-Times thy Wit.

In the later prefaces of Drayton we catch a note of discouragement, a feeling that the times are not propitious to either the muses or heroic deeds,[29] and it would be interesting to trace the idea of Fame, after Elizabeth's death, particularly in its connection with various personalities. It seems to have been widely hoped that Prince Henry, for example, would become like Elizabeth a fountainhead of inspiration, and perhaps the same kind of expectation clustered around Buckingham and others. The achievements of Cromwell called forth tributes from Marvell, Milton, Dryden, and even bolstered up Waller's somewhat flaccid Muse.

> Illustrious acts high raptures do infuse,
> And every conqueror creates a muse.
> Here, in low strains, your milder deeds we sing;
> But there, my lord; we'll bays and olive bring

[29] *Works*, ed. Hebel, II, 2; III, 2.

To crown your head; while you in triumph ride
O'er vanquished nations, and the sea beside;
While all your neighbour-princes unto you,
Like Joseph's sheaves, pay reverence, and bow.[30]

Dryden's verses of the 1660s express the hope of a new surge of nationalism. Much had happened since the days of Elizabeth, both politically and intellectually, and the high-minded idealism and the rather facile mythologizing of Sidney, Spenser, and Drayton are considerably cut back, but much the same solid substratum is still present: the faith in political and social order, the hopes for England's greatness, the importance of the poet's role. With the king the muses have returned to 'that great charge which Nature did ordain'[31] and Fame, it is no exaggeration to say, is not far behind. In *Annus Mirabilis* (41–44) Fame refers to the king:

His gen'rous mind the fair Idea's drew
Of Fame and Honour which in dangers lay;
Where wealth, like fruit on precipices, grew,
Not to be gather'd but by Birds of prey;

also to the new London that the poet hopes will arise from the ashes (1181–1184):

Before, she like some Shepherdess did show,
Who sate to bathe her by a River's side:
Not answering to her fame, but rude and low,
Nor taught the beauteous Arts of Modern pride.

Dryden never separated himself from these ideas,[32] but there is a buoyancy and excitement about his use of them in his poems of the sixties that his later treatments lack.

The very bulk of Renaissance history makes it difficult to survey systematically the use made in it of Fame, but we can distinguish roughly the same attitudes that we have noted in the poetry. There is the view of history as inspiration, the developing of notable 'examples' for imita-

[30] Edmund Waller, *Poems*, ed. G. Thorn Drury (London, 1893), II, 17. Waller was known as 'our English Virgil'.

[31] 'To my Lord Chancellor', l. 24. Reference is to *The Works of John Dryden*, ed. E. N. Hooker and H. T. Swedenberg Jr. (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1956), I.

[32] Note the traditional light imagery in the fine description of Absalom's progress (*Absalom and Achitophel*, 731–733):

From east to west his glories he displays,
And, like the sun, the promis'd land surveys.
Fame runs before him as the morning star, . . .

tion, a view which goes back through the chroniclers to the historians of antiquity. 'For where is exhibited', Henry of Huntingdon asks,

> in a more lively manner the grandeur of heroic men, the wisdom of the prudent, the uprightness of the just, and the moderation of the temperate, than in the series of actions which history records?[33]

Treatments of national heroes, such as Tito Livio's *Henry V*, are of this order, also the use of history by the Tudors to develop a national myth. An educator such as Sir Thomas Elyot sees history primarily as an incitement to virtuous action: study of the deeds of famous men will 'prouoke a gentil courage to contende to folowe their vertues'; in a graceful compliment to Henry VIII Elyot recommends that a life of his father Henry VII be written, 'whose worthy renome, like the sonne in the middes of his sphere, shyneth and euer shall shyne in mennes remembrance'. This is really the golden trump of Fame; in Elyot's reference to Alexander the Great we see the black trump as well. For his liberality and courage Alexander is 'a spectakle or marke for all princes to loke on', but his enormous vices 'abhorreth all readers'.[34] Elyot's attitude toward history is perhaps more poetic than historical, and certainly would not be out of place in the poeticizing of Sidney, Spenser, or Drayton.

The second use of Fame is in the effort to establish the order of history. In a sense the historians of the middle ages had been interested in little else than the order of history, as it demonstrates itself in divine intervention in human affairs, but the Renaissance tried to work out a pattern that would include the operation of second causes as well as of first. The chroniclers, as the seventeenth-century theorist Edmund Bolton put it, 'by referring all causes immediately to the will of God', neglect the 'ordinary means of Carriage in human affairs'.[35] In causation Bolton advises that the historian should seek a middle ground, including both the divine and the human; it can also be said that Fame is the middle ground in the establishing of moral judgments. Ben Jonson's commendatory verses to Ralegh's *History of the World* sum up the matter in a nutshell.

> From Death and dark Oblivion (neer the same)
> The Mistris of Mans life, grave HISTORY,
> Raising the world to good, or evil FAME,
> Doth vindicate it to ETERNITY.[36]

[33] Henry of Huntingdon, *Chronicle*, tr. and ed. Thomas Forester (London, 1853), p. xxvi.

[34] *The Boke Named the Governour*, ed. F. Watson (London, 1908), pp. 46, 103, 45–46.

[35] 'Hypercritica', in *Critical Essays of the Seventeenth Century*, ed. Joel E. Spingarn (Oxford, 1908), I, 84–85.

[36] Ed. 1666.

With all allowance for human fallibility the historian is to act as a reflection of a divine justice, mirroring the divine order, the partner of Truth rather than Fortune. This is essentially what some of the 'tragedies' were trying to do, as we have seen; it is also probably why Hawes brought in Fame between Death and Eternity. However, I believe that the effort made by the humanist historians in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to establish a moral order through Fame was more important than that made by the writers of verse lives. It also explains the earnestness and dedication that 'grave HISTORY' could command.

It is somewhat easier to treat Fame as an isolated abstraction than to see it in action as an idea fundamental to Renaissance historiography; not only the mass of Renaissance history stands in the way but the fact that so much of it is an essentially uncritical compilation from earlier sources. Also, there is the Tacitean-Florentine kind of history, like Sir John Hayward's *Henry IV* or Bacon's *Henry VII*, which stresses the lessons of statecraft rather than the moral evaluations of Fame. Nevertheless, the point of view of orthodox humanism, based as it is on faith in the goodness and dignity of man, believes that a man's reputation will correspond to the moral facts and that the truth will ultimately prevail. Erasmus, for example, advises the prince that virtue is the basis of a good reputation. 'Although your own age may maintain perfect silence, posterity will surely talk.'[37] Sir John Hayward applies the same idea to the writing of history in the preface to his *Lives of the III. Normans, Kings of England* (1613). 'I did always conceive', Hayward writes,

> that we should make our reckoning of three sorts of life: the short life of nature, the long life of fame, and the eternall life of glorie. The life of glorie is so farre esteemed before the other two, as grace is predominant in us: the life of fame before our naturall life is so farre esteemed, as a generous spirit surmounteth sensualitie; as humane nature overruleth brutish disposition. So farre as the noble nature of man hath dominion in our minds, so farre do we contemne, either the incommodities, or dangers, or life of our body, in regard of our reputation and fame. Now seeing this life of fame is both preserved and enlarged chiefly by history; there is no man (I suppose) that will either resist, or not assist, the commendable or at least tolerable writing thereof, but such as are conscious to themselves, either that no good, or that nothing but ill, can bee reported of them. In whom notwithstanding it is an errour to thinke, that any power of the present time, can either extinguish or obscure the memorie of times succeeding. Posteritie will give to every man his due: Some ages hereafter will afoord those, who will report impartially of all.[38]

We find a similar attitude in Edmund Bolton, whose *Hypercritica* is

[37] *The Education of a Christian Prince*, ed. and tr. Lester K. Born (New York, 1936), p.190.
[38] Sig. A2^{v}–A3^{r}.

perhaps the best expression in English of the humanist historiographer's point of view. Bolton thinks, in somewhat Baconian terms, the historian's mind must be cleared of prejudice, the material viewed objectively and dispassionately; but also for him Truth is the assertion of moral value.

> This steel Rule whosoever honestly follows may perhaps write incommodiously for some momentany Purposes, but shall thereby, both in present and to posterity, live with Honour, through the Justice of his Monuments. And if for them he should suffer Death, as brave *Cremutius Cordus* did, yet other Historians should eternise his Sufferings, and that Princes great Disgrace, under whom that Tragedy was committed.[39]

We have already mentioned Cremutius Cordus in connection with the poet Collingbourne; his sacrifice would be meaningless if one did not believe that Truth would ultimately endure.

Milton carries the process a step further. Not only will Truth prevail but 'as by a certain Fate great Acts and great Eloquence' go 'hand and hand, equalling and honouring each other'. Milton thinks not only of the military hero, but the one who

> brings in liberty against Tyrants, Law and Civility among barbarous Nations, knowing that when he Conquers all things else, he cannot conquer *Time* or *Detraction*, wisely conscious of this his want as well as of his worth not to be forgott'n or conceal'd, honours and hath recourse to the aid of Eloquence, his freindliest and best supply; by whose immortal Record his noble deeds, which else were transitory, becoming fixt and durable against the force of Yeares and Generations, he fails not to continue through all Posterity, over *Envy*, *Death*, and *Time*, also victorious.[40]

If this looks ahead to the libertarianism of the enlightenment, it also looks back to the humanist cult of Livy.[41] Milton's attitude, as we shall see, is never simple: it is also perhaps worth remembering against such a paean his bitter remark in a letter to Henry Oldenburg,[42] who had apparently been urging him to write a history of the political troubles of the English Civil War: 'they are worthier of silence than commemoration'.

In his English history Polydore Vergil had, beginning with the Nor-

[39] *Ed. cit.*, pp. 93–94.

[40] *Works* (New York, 1932), x, 32–33. In *The Reason of Church Government* (III, 237) Milton also makes the connection between great deeds and eloquence: '. . . if the Athenians, as some say, made their small deeds great and renowned by their eloquent writers, *England* hath had her noble atchievments made small by the unskilfull handling of monks and mechanicks.'

[41] See Elyot, p. 45; Roger Ascham, *The Scholemaster*, ed. Edward Arber (London, 1870), p. 130.

[42] XII, 109.

man kings, devoted a book to each king and concluded the book with an evaluation of that king and a list of the famous men who had lived during his reign; Sir Thomas Elyot had called for a celebration of Henry VII; Drayton had attempted to rehabilitate Robert, Duke of Normandy; Sir John Hayward had turned to the three Norman kings of England; Robert Burton in the utopian sketch in the introduction to *The Anatomy of Melancholy* had recommended 'publick historiographers, as amongst those ancient Persians, informed and appointed by the state to register all famous acts, & not by each insufficient scribbler, partial or parasitical pedant, as in our times';[43] examples could be multiplied almost indefinitely. Yet the most spectacular, as it has been the most influential use of Fame in English history, is undoubtedly in Clarendon's *History of the Great Rebellion*, particularly in the numerous 'characters' which are so conspicuous a feature of the work. It is hard to think of any other work in English in which one can find, as in Dante, such a collection of contemporary personalities fitted into so dramatic and meaningful a context.

It is sometimes said that the gallery of characters in Clarendon shows the growing interest in personality that was developing in the seventeenth century.[44] It is also true, I think, that a theoretical justification of them can be made in terms of the historical tradition Clarendon was working in. There were roughly two kinds of characterization in Renaissance history. One, associated with the Florentine or 'political' history, was that personality is only important as a factor in political causation. The other is the one we have been following, the effort to study personality as an end in itself, a part of the debt the historian owes to Fame and to posterity. In a way Clarendon uses both, partly because of the rather peculiar circumstances of the composition of his history. He first projected a *History*, which would be a study of the causes and circumstances of the royalist defeat.[45] Later, he wrote the *Life*, and finally he combined the *History* and parts of the *Life* into the *History of the Great Rebellion*. In the preface to the *History* (incorporated in the final work), he says it is his intention not to 'speak of persons otherwise than as the mention of their virtues or vices is essential to the work in hand'.[46]

[43] Ed. Floyd Dell and Paul Jordan-Smith (New York, 1927), p. 84.

[44] Introduction to Clarendon, *Selections*, ed. G. Huehns (London, 1955), p. xliii.

[45] See *State Papers Collected by Edward, Earl of Clarendon*, II (Oxford, 1773), 288. See also *The History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England*, ed. W. D. Macray (Oxford, 1888), I, xiii.

[46] *History*, I, 3.

However, the result is quite different, as the famous characters testify. The ideal is that expressed in the sketch of Falkland.

> But I must here take leave a little longer to discontinue this narration; and if the celebrating the memory of eminent and extraordinary persons, and transmitting their great virtues for the imitation of posterity, be one of the principal ends and duties of history, it will not be thought impertinent in this place to remember a loss which no time will suffer to be forgotten, and no success or good fortune will repair.[47]

One can sometimes see both methods of characterization operating for the same person. Laud, for instance, is shown both in a formalized sketch, written for the *Life*, and in a brief description, written for the original *History*.[48] The point of the latter is the influence Laud's personality had on public affairs; the former is an elaborate memorial and evaluation.

Clarendon's brilliant series of portraits need no emphasis; what is not sufficiently remarked, I believe, is their part in his great design of commemorating a national tragedy. If morality is to prevail, the persons *must* not be forgotten; often they seem to be almost symbols of the values that were swept away in the disturbances, or conversely of the forces at work undermining the fabric of society. The feeling is not unlike that of Dryden's *Absalom and Achitophel*, itself still in the long shadow of the civil wars. The keynote of Clarendon's history is struck in his opening sentence, which echoes the words of another great spokesman of order, Richard Hooker: 'That posterity may not be deceived . . .'. Clarendon is caught up in the same fervor that inspired Bolton's steel rule or the faith of Hayward that 'posterity will give to every man his due'.

The ideas we have been attempting to isolate did not go unchallenged. Machiavelli does not attack Fame directly, but his separation of a prince's reputation from truth or virtue wrecks the assumption that Fame is based on any kind of moral order. Fame becomes a word,[49] useful perhaps for manipulating public opinion, but without absolute validity. Machiavelli asks the rather uncomfortable question, what would we think of Caesar if he had failed in the civil wars of Rome? Caesar, as the embodiment of Roman order, had been generally admired in the middle ages, Dante, for example, putting him among the virtuous pagans, but if he hadn't been successful, might he not have been classed with the arch-traitors who seek to subvert the state? In England this example was

[47] *History*, III, 178; see also *Letters*, II, 328. Clarendon intended to publish the sketch of Falkland separately.

[48] *History*, I, 120–125, 196.

[49] See, for example, Iago on the subject of reputation (*Othello*, II.iii.270).

cited by Sir George Buck in an attempted rehabilitation in Richard III.

> Let us leave it upon that accompt, and but consider how much more wee forgive the fames of *H.* 1. *E.* 3. *H.* 4. *E.* 4. *H.* 7. because they had their happy Starres and successes; and then *Prosperum scelus virtus vocatur*, there is applause goes with the Act and Actor: *Iulius Caesar*, was, and ever will be reputed a wise and a great Captaine, although his Emulation cost an infinite quantitie of excellent humaine blood . . .[50]

Buck is not a Machiavellian attempting to justify Richard III on the basis of power politics, but in such a sentence we can see a relativistic scale of values that would destroy the order of history not only as it was known to the middle ages but also as it was known to the Renaissance. Machiavelli's remark about Caesar became a commonplace, echoed in England by Bacon, Hobbes, and Harrington;[51] one wonders if it would not have been in the mind of a contemporary reading Marvell's or Clarendon's identification of Cromwell with Caesar.[52] The same kind of point is made in Sir John Harington's well-known epigram.

> Treason doth never prosper, what's the reason?
> For if it prosper, none dare call it treason.[53]

Montaigne is not exactly a sceptic, but in his essay *Of Glory* he sees some of the difficulties in the conventional views. The applause of the vulgar is worthless, military glory seems costly and wasteful, ultimately virtue must be its own reward. He has little patience with the idea that great deeds will find the writer to celebrate them; in fact, as with Chaucer and Lydgate, it is Fortune that governs Fame.

> Thinke we that at every shot that hits us, or at every daungerous attempt we runne into, to have a Clarke present to enrole it: And besides, it may be that a hundred Clarkes shall write them, whose Commentaries shall not continue three daies, and shall never come to any bodies sight. We have but the thousandth part of ancient writings: It is Fortune, which according to her favor gives them either shorter or longer life.[54]

Some of the same ideas occur in Daniel, Greville, and Chapman, three

[50] Sir George Buck, *The History of the Life and Reigne of Richard the Third* (London, 1647), pp. 13–14.

[51] Machiavelli, *Discourses*, I, x; Bacon, *Works*, ed. Spedding, Ellis, Heath (Cambridge, 1863), VI, 341; Hobbes, *Leviathan* (Oxford, 1952), p. 52; Harrington, *Oceana*, ed. S. B. Liljegren (Heidelberg, 1924), p. 212.

[52] Marvell, *An Horatian Ode upon Cromwel's Return from Ireland*; Clarendon, *History*, V, 278. The apparition that appeared to Cromwell, leading him to refuse the kingship, is historical; it also suggests the apparition that appeared to Caesar in Lucan (I, 186–212).

[53] Sir John Harington, *The Epigrams*, ed. Norman E. McClure (Philadelphia, 1926), p. 164.

[54] *Essayes*, tr. John Florio (New York, 1933), p. 569.

distinctly independent minds that react against the earlier idealism and optimism. All are conscious of the great difference between the inner man and the outer world, how easy it is for 'Opinion', 'Art' to serve 'Will' rather than Reason. Of the three perhaps Daniel is the nearest to conventional positions, but he can deny that eloquence and learning always attend great achievement and can ask if virtue has

> No inward pleasures to delight her in,
> But she must gad to seeke an almes of fame?
> Must she like to a wanton Curtezan
> Open her breasts for shew, to win her praise?[55]

In his verse epistle to the Countess of Bedford he says that 'all glory, honour, fame, applause, renowne' belong to the outer world, not the inner man, though the highest value is when the outside agrees with 'the inward being of things'. Ultimately, however, Daniel has faith in the power of learning and the persistence of truth: the happiest nations have been those who 'did with no lesse glory speake than do' and

> Vertue, though lucklesse; yet shal skape contempt,
> And though it hath not hap, it shall haue fame.[56]

Daniel's patron Fulke Greville is somewhat more cynical and pessimistic. It is probable, to judge from his life of Sidney, that in the days of his youth, when the air was full of project and adventure, Greville believed in Fame and heroic achievement, but his didactic poem, *An Inquisition upon Fame and Honour*, is decidedly ambiguous. Fame is an echo of order, desire for Fame and Glory is a kind of social cement, necessary to keep states together, yet if we make 'vertues bodies unto Fame' (i. e. assume that Fame represents virtue),

> That be indeed hypocrisies of Hell.[57]

Fame is necessary for 'actiue' spirits, yet it has never wrought 'inward peace'. As the poem continues, the denunciation becomes more marked, and it ends on a note of rejection that is almost medieval.

> 'Who worship Fame, commit idolatry,
> 'Make men their god, Fortune and Time their worth.[58]

[55] *Poems*, ed. Sprague, p. 86.
[56] *Ibid.*, p. 110.
[57] *Works*, ed. Alexander B. Grosart (London, 1870), II, 73.
[58] *Ibid.*, II, 99.

Where Daniel seeks to balance and reconcile this world and the next, Greville can find certainty only in spiritual and religious truth.

The tendency of Chapman's thought is much like Greville's. In *Eugenia*, which commemorates William, Lord Russell (1614), the House of Fame appears again (surely one of the last uses of the allegory), standing in air at the confines of the triple world. On successive nights Fame and Religion orate; Fame praises death, denies the 'outside man', and extols the private life. Simplicity and humility are better than pomp and policy. For Chapman poetry is a divine mystery, its votaries few and select; and when at the end of the poem the muses sing a hymn *ad D. Russelium defunctum*, the tone is extremely lofty. It is true that Chapman is celebrating a death, not a marriage, but he never sees his subject as a member of a functioning aristocracy whose fame is a part of the national health and vigor, as Spenser saw the 'two worthie gentlemen' in *Prothalamion*. Instead, he endeavors to raise his subject as far as possible above earth until it becomes a part of Truth and 'heauens creating fire'.[59] In other words, the Fame who appears in the poem is heavenly Fame.

In his *History of Britain* and less certainly in *Lycidas*, Milton, as we have seen, reflects humanistic attitudes toward Fame; we might also cite his own desire for personal immortality, to 'leave something so written to aftertimes, as they should not willingly let it die'; the belief expressed in *Areopagitica* in 'the service of God and truth, and perhaps that lasting fame and perpetuity of praise which God and good men have consented shall be the reward of those whose publisht labours advance the good of mankind'; and the rather peculiar sonnet *When the Assault was Intended to the City*, in which he appears as the poet who

> can spred thy Name o're Lands and Seas,
> What ever clime the Suns bright circle warms.[60]

As *Lycidas* would suggest, Milton would never have made earthly fame an ultimate goal in itself, but at the same time there seems to be in his later works a growing rejection of Fame in favor of the absolute values of religion that would place him with Greville and Chapman rather than with Spenser and Drayton. The giants Adam sees in Book XI of *Paradise Lost* reach 'the highest pitch of human Glorie' (693–694), but it is through violence and blood, while 'what most merits fame [is] in silence hid' (699). In *Paradise Regained* earthly glory is one of the baits

[59] *The Poems*, ed. Phyllis B. Bartlett (New York, 1941), p. 296.

[60] III, 236; IV, 323–324; I, 60.

with which Satan tempts Christ; Christ replies that true glory exists not on earth (except among the virtuous few), but in heaven, and cites Job as an example (III, 68–70).

> Famous he was in Heaven, on Earth less known;
> Where glory is false glory, attributed
> To things not glorious, men not worthy of fame.[61]

The man most worthy praise, such as Socrates or Scipio, is not invariably granted, 'though but verbal, his reward'. Such ideas, it is true, occur in a narrative context, but they seem a contrast to Milton's earlier expressions, a part of his general rejection of humanistic values.

It would be possible to follow Fame through the eighteenth century, the idea tending to become more and more of an elegant, meaningless abstraction. In the nineteenth century the word ceases to be associated with poetry and history as new poetic and historical standards are evolved. Yet some of the things Fame has stood for will never be wholly outmoded as long as there is some one eager to perceive a moral order in the universe. In an essay on Ralegh's *History of the World*, Sir Charles Firth quotes Lord Acton's advice to his students: 'to suffer no man and no cause to escape the undying penalty which history has the power to inflict on wrong'. The wings are clipped and the trumpets silenced, but it is not hard to recognize the lady.

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[61] This passage goes over many familiar notions of honor and glory. Satan says that desire of Fame partakes of the divine, is the spark that raises man out of his materialistic self (cf. Robert Ashley, *Of Honour*, ed. Virgil B. Heltzel, San Marino, Calif., 1947, p. 31; Greville, II, 69–70). Christ replies that the applause of the vulgar is worthless (cf. Montaigne, p. 565; Daniel, p. 87; Greville, II, 83–84), and that those 'Worthies' usually accounted glorious for their military deeds are not truly so (cf. Greville, II, 92).

The 'Angel' of English Renaissance Literature

They have in England
A coin that bears the figure of an angel
Stampèd in gold . . .

(*Merchant of Venice* II.vii.55–57)

THE scholar or casual reader whose interest is drawn to Renaissance English literature discovers very early that, in the fantastic profusion of puns and punning allusions that delighted the hearts of Englishmen in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, second in frequency only to the cuckold's horns is a thin gold coin called the angel. The uses made of it range from the casual pun 'There's a pair of angels to guide you to your lodgings'[1] to elaborate metaphors which mold a scene or provide the vehicle for an entire poem, as in Donne's Elegie XI, 'The Bracelet'. Because of my interest in both numismatics and English Renaissance writers, I have been long fascinated by the angel's place in literature, and have become more and more impressed with its imaginative value to the English poets and dramatists of the period. And that value lies not only in its name of 'angel', but in the coin itself, its design and its history, richly illustrative and suggestive. The purpose of this brief paper is to describe some of these qualities, which are so completely obscured in the usual dry textual footnote which simply remarks 'a gold coin worth ten shillings'. Although no new information will be offered here, some of the suggestions and conclusions are, as far as I know, original.[2] In addition, I do not believe that there exists elsewhere such a summary of the history and traditions of the coin.

The gold angel is in its origin a product of the English High Gothic,

[1] Beaumont and Fletcher, *Wit at Several Weapons*, I, ii.

[2] Because direct evidence of intent and cause and effect is rare in the field of numismatics, many of the conclusions regarding the angel's reflection of political and religious atmospheric changes are necessarily *post hoc ergo propter hoc* arguments, and are therefore carefully qualified, though I believe them to be sound. Much of the general information about the physical history of the angel may be found in such basic source books for the English series as R.L. Kenyon's *The Gold Coins of England* (London, 1884) and G.C. Brooke's *English Coins* (London, 1952) and technical details of interest to numismatists may be found in articles listed in the special bibliographies of these volumes.

first issued in the first reign of Edward IV as a smaller, more practical substitute for the traditional noble, which was a large, beautiful coin with a ship design on the obverse, worth throughout most of its career six shillings eight pence, but enlarged and increased in value to ten shillings by Edward early in his reign. The angel, of eighty grains weight and of twenty-three-plus carat gold, assumed the old noble value of six shillings eight pence. Though the design of the angel changed slightly in details during the coin's career, it remained substantially the same from its inception in the second coinage of Edward IV (1464–1470)[3] to its inglorious disappearance as a diminished token touch-piece of the continental Stuart 'pretenders' in the eighteenth century. Actually, as current money, it was last issued by Charles I immediately prior to the outbreak of hostilities in 1642. The obverse of the angel pictures a winged and armored St. Michael slaying a rather unimpressive dragon with a long spear or sword, the butt end of which is in the shape of a cross. The angel himself is standing on the dragon and facing to the left. St. Michael's head is bound with a fillet and wreathed in a nimbus, sometimes containing a radiant cross above the head. The angel and the dragon are surrounded by a thin inner circle, either plain or beaded. The obverse legend outside this inner circle simply gives, in an abbreviated form, the name and titles of the issuing monarch. The reverse of the coin pictures a crudely stylized ship at sea (probably a twelfth-century, single-masted cog, later a seventeenth-century galleon),[4] bearing the royal arms on a huge cross which served the ship as a mast. Outside a bordering circle similar to that of the obverse appears the reverse legend which changed three times during the coin's hundred and eighty-year career and figures largely in the significance of the angel, politically and religiously. For the first six kings the legend reads 'PER CRVCEM TVAM SALVA NOS REDEMPTOR'.[5] During several reigns half-angels and quarter-angels were also issued with similar designs and shortened legends.[6] This essay, however, is concerned only with the angel itself.

The imaginative and symbolic value of the coin became recognized

[3] Figure 1.

[4] For an interesting discussion of medieval ship design on coins, see Anthony Thompson's article, 'Medieval Ships on Coins (Part II)', *Seaby's Coin and Medal Bulletin* (February 1951), pp. 55–58.

[5] Figure 2, reverse of angel of Henry VII. Note the 'Per Crucem' legend, and the rose, Henry's badge, to the right of the mast.

[6] Figures 3 and 4. Obverse and reverse sides of half-angels and quarter-angels of Elizabeth.

quickly. St. Michael himself, of course, is traditionally second only to St. George in significance to the English, and, both being dragon-slayers, the two were often confused in popular tradition. As a matter of fact, St. George did later take St. Michael's place as England's dragon-slaying emblem on the coinage, e.g., Henry VIII's 'St. George noble', and the modern gold sovereign. The angel's reverse design, adapted from the old noble, appealed to the English maritime spirit and traditions. Indeed, both sides were allusive to England's position at sea, St. Michael of the obverse being the traditional guardian angel of Land's End. The angel was recognized abroad as the characteristic coin of England, similar in this respect to the *fiorino d'oro* or florin of Florence and the ducat of Venice, and was accorded the honor of being frequently counterfeited on the continent, especially in Flanders in the sixteenth century when the angel became symbolic of England's sympathy with the Flemish and Dutch in their series of struggles against Spain.

The angel became, then, almost a national symbol. It also had strong religious connotations. It had been quickly adopted as the gift of money at the ceremony of 'touching for the king's evil' (scrofula), perhaps owing in part to the suitability of the reverse legend, 'By means of your cross, save us, O Lord and Redeemer'.[7] In the long series of difficulties during the Wars of the Roses, the angel became a symbol of royal and spiritual authority, partially because of its use in this 'touching' which in itself symbolized divine appointment. Indeed, it is more than possible that Edward IV in the years of anxiety preceding the temporarily successful effort of Warwick in 1470 to restore Henry VI to his throne chose this particular design to bolster his claim to the crown with a token of divine authority. Edward was only too aware of the significance of the Lancastrians' boast that Edward lacked the power of 'touching', a power held only by those of the true royal line. Henry VI in his brief restoration (1470–1471) turned the tables by immediately issuing the angel and its half as his only gold coins, probably owing in part, of course, to the dies immediately in hand, but also owing probably in no small measure to the potential significance of the angel. It was likewise the only gold coin issued by Edward IV in his second reign. The angel and its half remained the only gold coin of the two succeeding reigns, the few short months of the tragic boy king Edward V and the three tempestuous years of his uncle Richard III. After the battle of Bosworth Field in 1485, the usurper

[7] For the history of the 'touching' ceremonies and the angel's place in it, see W. Charlton, *Touch Pieces and Touching for the King's Evil* (1914).

Henry VII was in such a hurry to establish his authority that on many of the early angels of his reign he simply overstruck his symbols on coins of Richard before he later initiated a new series of gold coins of his own in addition to the by then traditional angel.

Following the religious upheavals of the 1530s and 40s, the rising Protestant feeling is manifested in many ways on the English political and social scene. The angel, too, felt this mounting pressure on the old order. The coin was very likely regarded by the radicals as unduly superstitious and smacking far too much of the old religion with its saint, cross, and 'idolatrous' legend, not to speak of its traditional association with the 'touching' ceremonies, which came under fire from the same groups. In the reign of Edward VI the angel was practically discontinued, not being issued until the last coinage, and then only in extremely limited numbers. The angel of Edward VI is by far the rarest of the whole angel series, excepting perhaps that of Edward V. With the traditional religion revived following the accession of Mary in 1553, the angel again clearly reflected the new times, as Mary depended for her gold coinage almost solely on the angel, lately despised.[8] She revised the reverse legend of her coins with the effect of making them even more distasteful to the extreme Protestants—'A DOMINO FACTVM EST ISTVD ET EST MIRABILE IN OCVLIS NOSTRIS'. And in addition to this, the angel was the only gold coin issued after her marriage and the only gold coin with the name of Mary's hated husband Philip. Upon her succession, Elizabeth, compromising, kept the angel as Mary had left it and issued large quantities of them, but emphasized other gold series as well.[9]

James I, in his Scots traditional suspicion of popery, distrusted the symbolism of the angel. Though he retained the reverse legend, James enlarged the lettering with the result of removing the offending word 'mirabile'. In addition, he substituted a pillar for the cross as the mast of the ship,[10] and then, in the third coinage (1619–1624), did away with the whole thing by substituting for the stylized cog or carrack a seventeenth-century galleon in full sail with the royal arms spread across the mainsail.[11] This series of changes not only reflects the king's religious attitudes

[8] Figure 5, the reverse of an angel of Mary, showing the new and even more 'idolatrous' legend.

[9] Figure 6, the obverse and reverse of angels of Elizabeth.

[10] Figure 7, obverse and reverse of angels of James I, second coinage (1604–1619), showing on the reverse the substitution of a pillar for the cross as mast of the vessel.

[11] Figure 8, obverse and reverse of angels of James I, third coinage (1619–1624), showing the ship design on the reverse. Note that the reverse is of an angel pierced for touching.

but catches as well something of the awakening of the spirit of exploration and expansion in early seventeenth-century England.

Charles I followed by retaining his father's last reverse design, the galleon under full sail, but changed the 'superstitious' miracle-legend to the pathetically ironic 'AMOR POPVLI PRAESIDIVM REGIS'.[12] Although neither James I nor Charles I apparently had any personal inclination toward the 'touching' ceremonies, both, at least partly for political reasons (the tradition supported their claim to divine royal authority as it had done for over a century), continued them, using the bulk of their own issues of the angel for this purpose. Though the angels had, since their inception, been the gift of money or amulet presented by the monarch to the afflicted persons in the 'touching', piercing the coins to be worn around the neck had not been universally practised. But at least nine out of ten of the angels of James and Charles are found pierced. However, not all of the pierced angels of Charles may be attributed to their having been presented at such a ceremony, for the Stuart angels were often pierced and worn as royalist amulets during the Civil War. As a result, extremely few specimens of Charles' angels are ever found in anything but worn condition. The holes are often exaggerated and sometimes broken open as a result of rough use.

Under the Commonwealth, as one would expect, the angel was discontinued for religious and political reasons. But upon the Restoration, the angel was not reintroduced. New milling processes,[13] the increased value of gold, and a general change in administrative attitude toward coinage combined to put a seal of approval on the Commonwealth's doing away with the angel. The angel, of course, did not fit into the pattern of the new regular coinage with its neat divisions. The angel had always been an independent coin, having for a century operated outside a regular currency based on the sovereign or pound, and, now that it had not been minted for twenty years, no reason was seen for going to the trouble to bring it back. It would have meant once again reviving the old double standard of gold purity, as, beginning with Henry VII, nearly all gold coins except the angel series had been of twenty-two carats or thereabouts, considerably more alloyed and less expensive than

[12] Figure 9, obverse and reverse of angels of Charles I. Note the obverse is of an angel pierced as a touch piece. The reverse is of an angel that has been pierced, but the hole is plugged.

[13] All the angels were 'hammered' coins except for one extremely rare issue designed for Charles I by Nicholas Briot.

the twenty-three-plus carat fineness of the angel. This sovereign or crown-gold standard was rather more profitable to the government than the 'angel-gold' and so still another reason was added for the demise of the angel.

In spite of these cogent reasons, the sentimental and symbolic value of the angel remained so high that Charles II caused special little gold amulets or dime-sized medals of the old angel design to be struck for distribution at the revived ceremonies for 'touching for the king's evil'. James II, naturally, followed his brother's practice. The little medals had replaced the old angel as the symbol of divine royal authority, and, in particular, of the Stuart family. William III, owing to personal disinclination and, very likely, Whig influence, if any was necessary, did not strike the tiny 'angels' and abandoned the practice of 'touching'. But James II in exile and his son, the 'Old Pretender', continued to mint the little pieces in gold and silver, as did 'Bonnie Prince Charlie' when he became Charles III. The last of the direct Stuart line, Henry IX, the Cardinal of York, also struck the token angels in silver. Queen Anne, at the end of the constitutional Stuart dynasty, once again struck the 'angels' and revived for the last time the practice of 'touching'. Among the last group of sufferers from scrofula to be 'touched' and presented with the medals to be worn about their necks was two-year-old Samuel Johnson.[14] The good Whig family of Hanover, of course, was completely uninterested in this sort of thing, and, with the succession of George I in 1714, the story of the angel comes to an end.

Economically, the history of the angel is a history of the gradual inflation of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Europe. Issued by Edward IV to replace the noble, the angel at eighty grains of nearly pure gold was at first valued at six shillings eight pence. Then, under Henry VIII, it was raised in value successively to seven shillings six pence and to eight shillings. Finally it reached ten shillings under Edward VI and thereafter remained constant except for a brief fluctuation under James, though it did not carry the value mark X until the 1619–1624 coinage.[15] In the process of inflation the angel was the only gold coin that did not suffer having its fineness debased, as the sovereigns, under Henry VIII, were reduced to twenty-two and finally to twenty carats. The angel, while los-

[14] Figure 10, the obverse of 'angel' amulet of Queen Anne, of the sort presented to young Samuel Johnson. Johnson's account of this incident, as told to Mrs. Thrale, is related in Boswell's *Life* (Modern Library edition), pp. 18–19.

[15] See the obverse of the angel in Figure 8.

ing none of the fineness of its content, nevertheless felt and reflected the rising inflation. After having remained at a steady eighty grains weight since its inception, the angel was reduced by James I to seventy-one and then to sixty-five plus grains, and, finally, by Charles, to about sixty-five grains. Just why the angel was not affected by the general debasement of gold content is not historically clear, but it would be a very likely guess that, owing to the coin's significance as a symbol of their own power and to its proverbial integrity among the people, successive administrations were hesitant to tamper with its integrity, preferring to reduce its size. 'Angel-gold' was a phrase signifying purity whether in metal or a person's intentions. It became, indeed, a 'scientific' term, being the alchemical phrase for gold pure enough for experimentation and 'projection'. The combination of popular religious significance and its alchemical associations led to such 'receipts' as one given for the plague, which was to take a gold angel of Elizabeth, of 'good old philosopher's gold', and to hold it in one's mouth.

Another interesting note concerns the angel's popularity with the underworld. For some reason, in spite of the blasphemy involved in defacing a religious symbol such as St. Michael, the angel was perhaps the favorite gold coin among the 'clippers', those who, according to Ben Jonson, laundered and barbered the coins with the result that the angel was often underweight. One recalls Face's remark in *The Alchemist* apropos of Subtle '. . . you know men's *planets*, And their good *angels*, and their bad'.[16] Once again, the purity of gold content probably accounts for the angel's popularity with the people, this time the criminal element.

The angel, like the guinea after it, lived on as the popular term for a sum of money long after the coin itself was no longer current money. One recalls Pepys' smug pleasure in recording that he had been able to 'fling away an angel' on the frivolous entertainment of his family.[17] He meant, of course, simply the sum of ten shillings, since he was writing some thirty years after the angel had ceased legal circulation.

Today, among coin collectors of the British series, an angel is a popular and almost necessary addition to one's collection. And it is surprising that there are so many of them about, the angels of Henry VII and Henry VIII being perhaps the most common. And even more noteworthy is that the angel, in general, except those that have been pierced or 'clipped', is found in somewhat better state of preservation than are most English

[16] I. iii. 15–16 (ed. Herford & Simpson, v, 309).
[17] *Diary* (Everyman's Library edition), II, 294.

gold coins of comparable age. A suggestion as to the reason for this would be that the angel was a favorite coin for hoarding, being of reliable value and of 'fine gold' content. Most are found either in small hoards or in family collections of odds and ends preserved over the centuries.

With some understanding of the rich history of the angel and its many degrees of popular significance, one reads the countless allusions to it with a greater appreciation of and sensitivity to its high imaginative value to the English Renaissance writers. The serious significance of the coin, other than just its pun-tempting name, and the suggestive wealth of its designs and legends, caused its use frequently by many writers who were not simply looking for a chuckle. George Herbert, for example, makes use of a pun in his allegorical poem 'The Pilgrimage', in which, for an interesting switch on the ordinary use, the coin itself is used metaphorically and Herbert apparently has in mind the angel as a spiritual being:

> That led me to the wilde of Passion, which
> Some call the wold;
> A wasted place, but sometimes rich.
> Here I was robb'd of all my gold,
> Save one good Angell, which a friend had ti'd
> Close to my side.[18]

There is a richness in the significance of the gold angel in this particular passage that would merit a short article. Since the coin is 'ti'd' it is obviously pierced and therefore of overt religious significance. The angel that slays the dragon (obverse design), the ship of salvation bearing the cross (reverse design)—both, I would maintain, have their meaning for the passage. In addition the pun suggests a series of paradoxes—the richness that protects one amidst thieves, the waters in the wild waste—and, of course, there is the comforting reverse legend, 'It is the doing of the Lord, and that is miraculous in our eyes'. One could add several more implications once it were granted that the use of the angel in this passage is more than a purely verbal pun, that it is, rather, one of those puns so characteristic of the Renaissance, of the 'metaphysicals', a pun of complex association, a pun of depth, of condensation. It is to this sort of use that I particularly want to draw attention, to the use in literature of the imaginative values and connotations of the coin itself, rather than the simple 'vaudeville' type of pun which is so characteristic of Renaissance drama. Often the angel's purely associative value is detected in a passage

[18] *The Poems of George Herbert* (World's Classics), p. 128.

where no pun is involved, as in Donne's 'Aire and Angels' where the poet introduces the ship metaphor recalling the traditional ship reverse design of the coin. The figure 'love's pinnace' results perhaps from Donne's reiteration of the word 'angel' in the lines preceding the metaphor.[19] Such a suggestion might seem ridiculous except that one remembers Donne's particular fondness for the coin's suggestive value, as for example in Elegie XI, in which the angel provides nearly all of the poem's metaphors. Or, going back to Herbert, there is the passage in 'To All Angels and Saints':

> Thou art the holy mine whence came the gold,
> The great restorative for all decay
> In young and old.[20]

Here, though not overtly or consciously, the proverbial 'angel-gold' is likely seen in the background of the metaphor. And, who knows? (and I haven't convinced myself of this) the association of St. Michael, the seventeenth-century ship sailing westward, might they not have subconsciously helped Milton mold that passage in 'Lycidas'? Examples of this sort of usage, rather more convincing than the last one, could be many times multiplied, but the nature of this essay is suggestive rather than demonstrative. And the suggestions of the essay are these: that the angel to the writer of the English Renaissance was much more than a coin; in addition, it was a symbol whose meanings and implications were manifold, reaching into many areas of experience, belief, and emotion, and, as a result, the modern reader might do well to look more closely, particularly in poetry, when confronted by the word 'angel'—there could easily lie behind it considerably more than a weak traditional pun. And, more particularly, I hope, a suggestion strongly implied in the course of this essay should be obvious: that the textual annotator might spare a line or two to illuminate the angel with the same eagerness and scholarship with which he expounds in a footnote the mysteries of the cuckold's horns.

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[19] *The Poems of John Donne* (Oxford Standard Authors), p. 21, l. 18.
[20] *The Poems of George Herbert*, p. 69, ll. 11–13.

The Poems of Galeatius Ponticus Facinus

SOME of the Neo-Latin poetry written in the fifteenth century attains real literary distinction, even though the authors may not follow all the rules of classical prosody as they are known to us today. There is also another class of poetry which is less distinguished as literature; but this attracts a certain amount of interest owing to the position of the author, the importance of the men to whom the poems are addressed, or the historical significance of the events to which they refer. The poems written by Galeazzo Pontico Faccino (Galeatius Ponticus Facinus) belong to this second class. The author was active in Padua during a famous period in the history of the university and had a personal relationship with several persons who are better known than he is himself. His name is already known from the correspondence and poetry of contemporary authors, but his own literary work does not seem to have been studied and is here published for the first time.

This collection of poems is contained in a single manuscript in Florence (cod. Laur. Ashb. 1078, 26 fols.). It consists of a dedication and eighty-three poems; the longest (no. 19) has 102 lines, a few consist of single lines, and the total number of lines in 925. The poems are not numbered, but there are eighty-three titles. Most of them are written in elegiac couplets, but there are six poems in the Phalaecean or hendecasyllabic meter (83 lines) and a few hexameters.

The collection seems to be a presentation copy and poem 83 shows that it had an elaborate binding. It is dedicated to Marco Longo (Marcus Longus), a member of a patrician family in Venice, and is of special interest because it refers to certain men who were well known in Italy during the last quarter of the fifteenth century. Ermolao Barbaro, Gerolamo Donato, Ludovico Odasio, Nicoletto Vernia, Pietro Foscari, Roberto Orsi, Domizio Calderini, and others are mentioned in the poems.

Some of them are discussed by Branca[1] in his excellent edition of Ermolao Barbaro's Latin letters, which contains some useful bibliographies.

It is probable that the date of the collection is about 1481; the evidence for this will be given later.

The poems may be divided for convenience into groups.

1. *Complimentary poems.* Marcus Longus is praised for his learning and for his generosity to poets, and a collection of his epigrams is mentioned (2). Hieronymus Donatus is also praised highly for his learning (9). A guest is told how fortunate Padua is to have such a good man as Phoscharus as *praesul* (11). The courtesy of the *praesul* (presumably Phoscharus) to a visiting *presbyter* is also described (64). As Litavicus Odaxius is about to leave Padua for Urbino, he is praised in a long poem for his character and for his knowledge of Greek and Latin (19). The poem *ad Hesperum* is really a compliment to Marcus Longus (59). Another poem, although it is written in a light vein, gives evidence of the ability of Hermolaus Barbarus, who could rapidly improvise verses about wasps, similar to the Homeric *Battle of the Frogs and Mice*, while he was at a drinking party (69).

2. *Poems in praise of Padua.* Two poems addressed to Marcus Longus are of interest because they give information about Padua. Facinus praises its learning and mentions various subjects that are studied in the city, including astronomy, theology, Aristotle's philosophy, and mathematics (38), and he also describes its beauties and says that the muses have come to live there (75).

3. *Love poetry.* There are two poems addressed to Cynthia. These may be conventional, or the name may refer to a real person, just as Propertius concealed the name of Hostia when he addressed Cynthia in his poems. Facinus mentions Cynthia and her lover (Propertius), Lesbia and Catullus, Corinna and Ovid, and Venus and Mars, and takes from Ovid's *Metamorphoses* the story of Iphis, who died because he could not win Anaxarete. Unless his Cynthia changes her attitude, the poet says that he will die (27). In a second poem he describes his unhappiness and begs Cynthia to come to him (55). In two other poems the name Fulvia is used for the lady in whom Marcus Longus is interested (20, 47). There are two affectionate poems written to friends. One is addressed to Hieronymus Donatus (24) and the other to Hermolaus Barbarus (67), but there are difficulties in the interpretation of the second poem.

[1] Vittore Branca, *Ermolao Barbaro, Epistulae, orationes et carmina*, 2 vols. (Firenze, 1943).

4. *Poems on marriage.* There is a serious *epithalamium* in honor of Bernardinus Paganinus, who is marrying Lucretia, a lady from Vicenza (61). There are also three frivolous poems (two of them addressed to Barbarus and Longus), in which the author regrets the marriage of his friends. He complains that Hieronymus Donatus and Theatinus are now married and have lost their freedom (71, 72, 73), and Barbarus is following their example.

5. *Religious poems.* There are three Christian poems. Marcus Longus is advised to lay aside Vergil and Cicero and to go to church, since Christ has redeemed us (18). The author tells the story in Luke xi. 27–28, where Christ says to a woman 'Blessed are they that hear the word of God and keep it' (21), and he prays to Christ to save him (22). There is also a poem addressed to a Roman god. Here the author complains to Jupiter about a flood, but perhaps this is intended to be humorous (3).

6. *Humorous verse.* The best example of this is the poem addressed to a *culex* (12). Facinus may have been thinking of the *Culex* attributed to Vergil. He says there is nothing worse than these insects and describes how they came through a window and attacked a learned young man (Marcus Longus) while he was resting; but a god came to his rescue and drove them away. Perhaps the poem in honor of Bacchus might also be included here (40). Marcus Longus is asked to send wine, as the day of Bacchus must be celebrated. The god himself takes part in the revels.

7. *Epitaphs.* There are six epitaphs, one for Nicoleos (76), two for Petrus Soncinus (77, 78), two for the learned scholar Domitius (Domitius Calderinus) of Verona (79, 80), and one for Antonius Lilianus (81).

8. *Poems about the author and his brother.* His brother, Contes Facinus, is said to be on a dangerous voyage, but in spite of this continues to write poems (26). Scipio took his name from Africa which he conquered, but Facinus got the name Ponticus from Pontus which he has never seen (57). His brother's age is forty, but Facinus himself is about twenty (63). And there are other references to Contes (e.g., 8, 71, 72).

9. *Additional poems written to Marcus Longus.* A poet cannot send wealth, but can only send poems (1). A poor man can only give thanks (5). The author dislikes fish and wishes his host would serve fruit and wine (7). In one poem he seems to complain about their relationship (10). Longus has a small body but a great name (14, 15). Though he is small, he will be great because of his gifts (23). He receives poems in return for gifts and he gives food and clothing in return for poems (16).

Every one is celebrating. Longus should give up trifles and hasten to the poet's house (17). The poets of old asked the Caesars for clothing, but Longus gives without being asked. May the muses love him and may Fulvia look on him more kindly (20). Longus has been praised for his eloquence in some poems sent to Facinus, but he might have been just as successful as a painter (25). Let others send riches. The poet has sent fruit as a mark of his love (34). Whether Longus goes to the east or to the west, the poet would always want to go as his companion (36). A great man does not know how to give small gifts (39). Take away water. Wine makes us happy. Here Fulvia is mentioned again (47). A gift is discussed (54), and Longus is congratulated on his poems (56). A servant had been told to wake Facinus in the morning, but he arrived before the poet had gone to sleep (58). Facinus asks why Longus does not write to him (68). Longus has asked whether we should follow virtue or vice. The poet refers to the story of Megareus, i.e. Euclides (70). Facinus proclaims his friendship for Longus (74). Finally he says that his book of poems has a fine cover, but that Longus should avoid the contents (83).

10. *Poems written to others.* Robertus Ursus keeps asking for poems, but Facinus has been too busy to write any (6). Iacobus is asked why he does not stay away and take care of his sheep in Feltria (8). Facinus asks Propertius to excuse him for not having written a poem in his honor (30). Hermolaus Barbarus is asked why he opens his windows at night and keeps others awake with his noise (31). Facinus cannot greet Bonifatius by his proper name, since he has not been a benefactor (35). Phosphorus is advised to care for virtue (37). Propertius is told that a man should adapt himself to his friends (48). Bonifacius Bembus is asked to speak to Praxagathus about a legal matter (53). A friend is told to conquer his anger (60). Pierius is warned that it is dangerous to give a hawk as a present to Hermoleos (66), and Facinus makes a play on words in a poem to Paulus Ramusius (82).

11. *Abusive poems.* Longus is warned against a bad priest called Martinus. This may be an echo of the attack made by Catullus on Mamurra (4). In a poem to Sebastianus Priulus an attack is made on a wicked husband (13).

12. *Miscellaneous poems.* There are short poems on a mad woman (28), on the *mergus* (32), on Vicus Vespilio, who has gone to get medicinal waters for the sick (33), and on Attalicus (62). There are poems of one line about a bird-cage (41–46), and there are several poems about the word *temo* or pole, which may be in front of a carriage or behind a ship (49–52).

Galeazzo Pontico Faccino lived in Padua, but the family, which was of noble origin, once belonged to Vicenza. According to Branca,[2] he became a friend and collaborator of Ermolao Barbaro before 1480, and later through his help he obtained a position in Milan (1488). After Barbaro's death (1493) he had the support of Bernardo Rossi, bishop of Belluno, who also helped him after he had failed to obtain Giorgio Valla's chair at Venice (1500). When Rossi went to Treviso, he took Faccino with him. Valeriano[3] describes his tragic end in *De litteratorum infelicitate*; shortly after he had gone to Treviso with the bishop he died of dropsy and was unable to enjoy the leisure that had been provided for him. Serena[4] thinks that he must have died in March 1506, and refers to an inventory of his belongings written on 24 March of that year.

According to Barbaro's letters Faccino wrote verses and epistles and commented on Silius Italicus. His brother, who like his father was called Contes, is also mentioned as a writer. Poem 26 refers to his brother, and poem 63 shows that when he wrote it he was about twenty and his brother was forty years old.[5] Branca[6] gives nine Latin letters and one Latin poem that were written to him by Barbaro. The first letter was written in 1480 and the others in 1484 and 1485.

The following biographical sketches may help to identify the persons mentioned in the poems who seem to be of special interest.

Marco Longo, according to Branca,[7] is perhaps the well-known Venetian patrician who died about 1560 and at the end of his career was *rettore di Sebenico*. Branca[8] gives one letter sent to him in 1484 by Barbaro, who addresses him as *Marce mi suavissime*.

Cicogna[9] gives an inscription in honor of a Marco Longo and says that he was governor of Sebenico in 1562 with the title of count and cap-

[2] II, 145.

[3] Giovanni Pierio Valeriano, *De litteratorum infelicitate* (Venezia, 1620), nova editio (Genevae, 1821), pp. 65–66.

[4] Augusto Serena, *La cultura umanistica a Treviso* (Venezia, 1912), pp. 200–201 and p. 367 (document 27). For Faccino see also: Giuseppe Pavanello, *Un maestro del quattrocento (Giovanni Aurelio Augurello)* (Venezia, 1905), pp. 104–106.

[5] Est mihi qui decimum frater quater egerit annum;
Cognita vix bene sunt lustra quaterna mihi.

[6] I, nos. 13, 40, 43, 45, 48, 49, 50, 67, 73; II, 125, no. 9.

[7] II, 150.

[8] I, no. 37.

[9] E. A. Cicogna, *Delle inscrizioni Veneziane*, I, 67, no. 104: 'Marco Longo Pat. Ven. Aloysii F. qui Sici praetor diem suum obiit. Alyosius Longus F. patri benem. sibi haeredibusque V. F. Obiit MDLXV.' Here *Sici* seems to refer to Sebenico.

tain and that he died in 1565. But it is not likely that Faccino's friend is the same as the Marco Longo who was governor of Sebenico. He would have been a very old man when he died if he were the same person. Cicogna rejects another view that he died in 1515, though this date would be more suitable for Faccino's friend. Apart from the late date, the objection to accepting this identification is that in the inscription Marco Longo is called the son of *Aloysius*, but in the title of Faccino's poems he is called the son of *Leonardus*. Pavanello[10] was puzzled by a reference to Marcus and his father Leonardus in a letter written by Barbaro and thought that they were Faccino's brother and father; but this manuscript shows that he was referring to Marco Longo and his father.

Marco Longo must have been younger than Faccino, who calls him *pubens* in the dedication, though he refers to him as *iuvenis* in the poems. Thirty poems[11] and the dedication are addressed to him.

Ermolao Barbaro (1454–1493), here called Hermolaus Barbarus or Hermoleos, was a Venetian of noble rank, who studied and also taught at the university of Padua and later held political posts. He was made patriarch of Aquileia by the pope, but because he did not obtain permission from the Venetian government, he was not allowed to take possession of his see and was exiled from Venice. Valeriano[12] includes him in *De litteratorum infelicitate* and describes how he died of the plague in tragic circumstances. He was an authority on Aristotle, and according to Kristeller[13] he gave a course at Padua on the *Nicomachean Ethics* in 1474–1475 and another on the *Politics* in 1475–1476.

There are four poems addressed by Faccino to Barbaro (31, 67, 69, 71; cf. also 66). Since Barbaro was born in 1454 and seems to have been lecturing at Padua at the age of twenty, Faccino may have been his pupil.

Gerolamo Donato (1457–1511) is addressed as Hieronymus Donatus in two poems (9, 24) and is praised highly for his learning. Poem 73 refers to his marriage. Donato was a noble Venetian and an expert in

[10] *Op. cit.*, p. 105.

[11] Nos. 1, 2, 4, 5, 7, 10, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 20, 23, 25, 29, 34, 36, 38, 40, 47, 54, 56, 58, 68, 70, 72, 74, 75, 83.

[12] *Op. cit.*, pp. 6–7.

[13] Paul O. Kristeller, *Studies in Renaissance Thought and Letters* (Roma, 1956, *Storia e Letteratura raccolta di studi e testi*, vol. 54), pp. 342, 346. Kristeller considers that certain remarks written on a manuscript (Plimpton 17) at Columbia University are in Ermolao Barbaro's handwriting (e.g. *Libros politicorum octo praelegi in gymnasio patavino . . .* MCCCCLXXVI). For Barbaro see also: T. Stickney, *De Hermolai Barbari vita atque ingenio* (Paris, 1913); A. Ferriguto, *Almorò Barbaro* (Venezia, 1922).

Greek and Latin; he was a friend of Poliziano and had a close relationship with Ermolao Barbaro. He is well known for his translation of the commentary on Aristotle's *De anima* by Alexander Aphrodisiensis, which was widely used. He was governor of Brescia (1496) and of Ferrara (1498) and was ambassador in Portugal and France.[14] Branca[15] gives eleven letters written to him by Barbaro, ranging from 1480 to 1488.

Ludovico Odasio (Litavicus Odaxius), who was of noble rank and lived in Padua, was also an expert in Greek and Latin. He receives high praise for his learning in a long poem (19), which was written on his departure from Padua (*In discessu Litavici Odaxii*). This happened when he was chosen by Federigo di Montefeltro, duke of Urbino, as a tutor for his son, Guidobaldo di Montefeltro, who shortly afterwards succeeded his father as duke.[16] Federigo, who was born in 1422, died on 10 September 1482, so that Odasio must have left for Urbino before that date. Guidobaldo, who was born in 1472, died in 1508, and Odasio recited the funeral oration for both the father and the son. Branca[17] gives one letter written to Odasio by Barbaro.

Nicoletto Vernia (1420?–1499) is mentioned as Theatinus in three poems (71, 72, 73), though none is addressed to him. He taught in the University of Padua from 1465 to 1499 and was one of the leading Aristotelian philosophers of his time. Faccino refers to Aristotelian studies at Padua in 38.6: *Hic et Aristotelis scripta probata vigent.* Branca[18] considers Vernia[19] one of the most interesting thinkers of this period and gives two letters sent to him by Barbaro in 1483–1484.

Pietro Foscari is mentioned as Phoscharus in poem 11, where Faccino says how fortunate Padua is to have him as *praesul.* Poem 64 also speaks highly of the *praesul* of Padua, but there his name is not given. According to Eubel[20] he was made a cardinal in 1477, and on 15 April 1481 he became papal administrator in Padua. It is probable that these poems were written after he had accepted his appointment in Padua in 1481,

[14] Branca, II, 145.

[15] I, nos. 12, 41; II, 90, 94, 97, 98, 106, 108, 109, 117, 128.

[16] James Dennistoun, *Memoirs of the Dukes of Urbino* (London, 1851), I, 283–284.

[17] I, no. 32. See also II, 154.

[18] I, nos. 31, 42. See also II, 161.

[19] For Vernia see also J. H. Randall, 'Introduction to Pomponazzi', in Ernst Cassirer and others, *The Renaissance Philosophy of Man* (Chicago, 1948), pp. 257 ff.; Pietro Ragnisco, *Nicoletto Vernia: Studi storici sulla filosofia Padovana nella seconda metà del secolo XV* (Venezia, 1891).

[20] Conrad Eubel, *Hierarchia catholica medii aevi* (Monasterii, 1901–1952), II, 19, 232.

and it is possible that they were written during that year. They could not have been written after 1485, since that was the year of his death. Branca[21] gives six letters written to him in 1474–1475 by Barbaro, who dedicated to him the six books of his *Compendium ethicorum*.

Roberto Orsi (Robertus Ursus) was a lawyer and poet from Rimini who was in Florence in 1478 and died in 1496. Kristeller[22] gives a poem written by him to Naldus Naldius and the latter's reply. Faccino addresses one poem to him (6) and refers to him as *orator Ariminensis*.

Domizio Calderini[23] (Domitius Calderinus) of Verona was born about 1444–1446 and died in Rome in 1478. He was professor of rhetoric in Rome in 1470 and commented on Martial and Juvenal and other Latin authors. Faccino wrote two epitaphs in his honor (79, 80) and mentions Verona in both of them.[24] Since he died in 1478, these poems must have been written after that date.

One poem (37) is addressed to a friend called Phosphorus. Though there is nothing in it to identify him, it is possible that it refers to Maffeo Lucio Fosforo, who was commonly called Phosphorus. He was well known for his knowledge of Greek and Latin and was a friend of Poliziano. In 1482 he was made bishop of Segni and he died in Rome in 1503. Branca[25] gives a letter written to him in 1492 by Barbaro, who addresses him as *pontifex Signinus*.

The date of this collection of poems must be placed between 1478, when Domizio Calderini died, and 1485, when Pietro Foscari died. It is probable that poem 11 was not written until Foscari had accepted his position as administrator in Padua in April 1481, but it could have been written in the second half of that year. Poem 19 about Ludovico Odasio could not have been written after 10 September 1482, when Federigo, duke of Urbino, died, and it is possible that Odasio left Padua in the previous year. This also suggests that the collection may belong to the second half of 1481.

[21] I, nos. 1 bis, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6. See also II, 147.

[22] Paul O. Kristeller, *Supplementum Ficinianum* (Florentiae, 1937), II, 266, 311, 347. See also Carlo Tonini, *La cultura letteraria e scientifica in Rimini* (Rimini, 1884), II, 138 ff.

[23] For Calderini see: Gino Levi, *Cenni intorno alla vita ed agli scritti di Domizio Calderini* (Padova, 1900).

[24] These poems also occur in a manuscript at Verona (Capitolare, cod. 257, f. 7). The title of the first, *Galeacius Facinus Patavinus pro Domitio Cal.*, shows that Domitius is Domizio Calderini.

[25] II, no. 157. See also II, 147.

The spelling used in the manuscript has been retained, though a few mistakes have been corrected and capital letters have been used for proper names. When the letter *e* appears with a cedilla, it has been written as *ae*, but *e* (used for *ae*) has not been changed. Sometimes *ae* is confusing when it is used for *e*, as in *caedo* (10.2), which is ambiguous.[26]

Occasionally the scansion is incorrect. The author sometimes has a short syllable at the end of the first half of a pentameter, e.g.

turpis || ambitus, 8.6
vorticibus || obruat, 55.10
capite || lusca, 55.28
quisquis || hunc, 62.2
laqueus || hamus, 66.8

In 65.6 (*canis || hic tuus*) the line is incomplete, since both syllables of *canis* are short. In 13.14 the last syllable of *parturis* is long. In 17.3 the last syllable of *ridet* is short. In 17.6 the first syllable of *cassia* is long, unless the spelling is changed to *casia*. In 33.3 the last syllable of *aeratam* ought to be elided before *oppignerat*. In 60.4 the first syllable of *nequit* is short. In 69.6 the last syllable of *quaterque* should not be short before *scio*.

The author also allows himself more freedom than is usual in shortening final *o*. Thus in 32.2 *aliquando* has a short *o*, but this is always long in the Roman elegists, and in 18.9 even the ablative of the gerund, *moriendo*, appears with a short *o*.

He does not follow Ovid in preferring a word of two syllables at the end of the pentameter. About 23 lines end with a word of three syllables, about 25 with a word of four syllables, and at least 3 with a word of five syllables, e.g. *animus*, 2.14, *concipimus*, 2.6, *amicitiae*, 74.4. As he wrote more than 400 pentameters, approximately 12% of them do not end

[26] The following are some examples of the spelling:

(ae for e) raetia, 7.2
(ae for oe) caeperat, 64.5
(ae unchanged) aequales, 2.26
(ę for ae) nugę, 1.9
(e for ae) tedas, 61.23
(e for oe) mechus, 66.4
(i for y) Sirtes, 36.7
(ii for i) dii, 19.72
(oe for ae) moestus, 18.15
(oe for e) foelicia, 1.3
(u for o) nundum, 57.3
(y for i) sydus, 18.2
(h before vowels) habundas, 1.7
(c for t) precio, 25.10
(ch for c) Archas, 12.40
(ff for f) ruffo, 55.28
(l for ll) solicitare, 12.20
(ll for l) relligione, 19.27
(n for m) nanque, 19.65
(p for pp) lipis, 40.16
(quo for cu) quom, 1.5
(rr for r) Suburra, 40.12
(s for ss) Parnasi, 2.22
(t for c) pernities, 68.6
(t for th) aetereos, 72.5
(tt for t) littoribus, 18.4

with a word of two syllables. Ovid seldom ends with words of four or five syllables and trisyllabic endings are extremely rare.[27] But Faccino may have been thinking of Catullus or the early work of Propertius.

The Latin written by Faccino is often very hard to understand, and it must be admitted that this is a fault. But though he is not a major author, his verse is of some importance as an example of the poetry of the fifteenth century, and the distinction of the persons whom he mentions gives it a special interest.[28]

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[27] See Maurice Platnauer, *Latin Elegiac Verse* (Cambridge, 1951), pp. 15, 17.

[28] The writer would like to thank Professor Paul O. Kristeller for referring him to the manuscript containing Faccino's poems and also for information about the following manuscripts which contain relevant material.

1. Verona, Capitolare, cod. 257, ff. 2–10^{v}. Verses about Domitius Calderinus by several authors, including two poems by Galeatius Facinus Patavinus on f. 7, which are the same as poems 79 and 80 in Faccino's collection.
2. Treviso, Comunale, cod. 1404. Collection of *carmina*. Ponticus Facinus appears among the authors.
3. Venice, Marciana, cod. lat. XII 91 (4123). Franciscus de Lignamine, *carmina*. There are some verses addressed to Galeatius Facinus (f. 32^{v}).
4. Venice, Marciana, cod. lat. XIV 267 (4344), f. 59^{v}. Antonius Facinus, letter to Galeacius Facinus *artium doctor*, dated 1490.
5. Venice, Marciana, cod. ital. IX 363 (7386), f. 95^{v}. Latin verses by Ponticus (identity uncertain).
6. Venice, Museo Civico Correr, cod. Cicogna 949. Poems by Hieronymus Bononius. They include verses to Ponticus (identity uncertain).
7. Venice, cod. Cicogna 2664. Poems by Bononius. There are verses to Lud. Ponticus (Tarvisinus), but also to Galeacius Facinus.

8 and 9. Venice, cod. Cicogna 2665, 2666. Poems by Bononius, including verses to Galeacius Facinus.

10. Cesena, Malatestiana, cod. D I 2. Poems by Franciscus Ubertus, including verses to Ponticus Facinus.

The writer would also like to thank Dr. Irma Merolle Tondi, director of the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, for her help in reading Faccino's dedication. Some of the letters are illegible in the manuscript.

GALEATIUS PONTICUS FACINUS

List of Poems

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Libellus Galeatii Pontici Facini civis Patav⟨ini⟩ Contis f⟨ilii⟩ ad Marcum Longum patr⟨icium⟩ Ven⟨etum⟩ Leonardi f⟨ilium⟩ iuvenem lectiss⟨imum⟩.

Pubens, perlege. Ponticus dicavit.
⟨A⟩t tu tam breve cingulumque carmen
⟨Si⟩ custodierisque cluserisque,
⟨Ce⟩latu tener exolescet ut flos.
⟨Se⟩d nec commodites precariove
Concedas; facile est perire parvo.

1. C. Ponticus Facinus Marco Longo f. 1v

Ille hominum moremque potest legesque tueri,
Qui tenet in propria conditione modum.
Vota deo casti vates, foelicia mittit
Regibus ac dominis munera quisque suis.
Votane concipiam quom tu me, Marce, bearis,
Victorem voti reddiderisque mei?
Nunquid opes aurumve, quibus tu semper habundas,
Semper ego indigeo, tradere coner inops?
Quidnam igitur dandum est? Hae nugae. Quor ita nugae?
His nugis tibi nil gratius esse potest.
Hae tibi enim cordisque mei penetrale recludunt,
Ipsius efficiunt participemque mei.
Insidet his nostri non debile pignus amoris,
Sed solidum, reliquis nobiliusque bonis.
Per te ego sum foelixque fui foelixque futurus,
Tu dominus vitae rexque deusque meae.
Accipe quod nec tu potius cupis esse, tibique
Nec tradens potius quod dare possit habet.

2. Eidem

Quonam te aut quali discrimine, Marce, futuris f. 2r
Mandabo, Longae gloria summa domus?
Quandoquidem in Venetis isto praenomine fastis
Multi de vestra gente loquuntur avi.
Quae nota te nobis numero distinguet ab illo,
Ipsum te pingens quem modo concipimus?
Tu tamen hoc studium noli contemnere, noster
Dulcis et immensus quod tibi praestat amor.
Non nihil est digito signari posse, iuvatque
Quamlubet absentis posteritatis honor.
Neu dubita; vives semper, noscere seorsum.
Hoc tibi dant mentis munera certa tuae;
Insolitae hoc dotes, hoc impromiscua virtus,
Natus et ad magnas non nisi res animus;
Hoc probitas, mores, gravitasque pudorque senexque
In perquam tenero pectore consilium.

Dedication 2–5 ⟨A⟩, ⟨Si⟩, ⟨Ce⟩, ⟨Se⟩ are conjectures.

Addo duas laudes quae te diducere vulgo
Gentili et coelo constituisse queunt.
Non est in Veneta iuvenis te doctior urbe,
Nec quoi foecundum sit magis ingenium.
Non est qui melius cunctas percalleat artes, f. 2v
Nec quoi Parnasi sint iuga trita magis;
Id quod candidulo collecta epigrammata libro
Demonstrant, noster quae probat Hermoleos.
Ob quae te tantum laudant, quibus asserit orbis
Te longe aequales destituisse tuos.
Praeterea non est te magnificentior alter;
Quae tua sunt, non sunt, Marce benigne, tua.
Indonatus abit nemo, nudumque poetam
Cernere, ubi tu sis, non licet aut lacerum.
Hoc tibi testabor semper numquamque silebo,
Hoc tibi praecipuum est, hoc quoque, Marce, tuum.
Stemmata sunt nostri, sunt haec discrimina Marci,
Quae nulli e Longa contigit esse domo.
Nec tua sunt, quod sis Leonardo patre creatus
Quodque ille in patria clareat usque sua.
Haec tua sunt quae te reliquo discludere coetu
Et magnis possunt consociare viris.
Nil metus est nobis quin cognoscare, periclum est
Maiorum obscures facta decusque tuum.
Quam vereor posthac celebrandum nomine Marci f. 3r
Ne quem habeat praeter te tua posteritas.
Ergo vale, et virtus qua per compendia ducit
Nominis aeterni grande capesse decus.

3. Ad Iovem

Iupiter, indignum est, tua sunt haec quae omnia mergis.
Prospice; nam officiet quod struis ipse tibi.
Mortales miseram meruerunt forte ruinam.
Vivere quoi poena est, morte perire bonum.
Quodsi diluvio terras absumere mavis,
Est opus ut coelum corruat imbre tuum.
Est opus ipse pluas, sed non est, crede poetae,
Fas, aurum fuerit qui prius, esse mare.
Ipsa Iovem pluvium propellet ferrea turris,
Contrahet et gremium cauta puella suum.

4. Marco Longo

Desine mirari quidnam malus ille sacerdos
Tam probet insani dulce Maronis opus.
Hinc illi laus est, illi non ulla supellex
Gratior; hinc vivit. Tollito, nullus erit.
Mentula in hoc canitur; Martinus mentula quom sit, f. 3v
Quor non huic carus debeat esse liber?

2.44 capesse] capesce F.

5. Marco Longo

Quod tibi non redeat donis honeratus amicis
Servus, ais, vitium non leve, Longe, meum.
Hoc mihi non turpe est, verum est miserabile quando
Haec mala nascenti sors inimica dedit,
Scilicet ut tantum nos acciperemus ob id quod
Nil praeter grates reddere pauper habet.

6. Roberto Urso oratori Arimin⟨ensi⟩

Si mane occurris, si vespere, debita poscis
Carmina, idem repetis si mediante die.
Desine mirari quod non do. Carmina possum
Mittere, quem totum lisque forumque tenent?
Conquiro testes, tabulas, decreta, citorque
Atque cito, huc illuc trudor agorque diu.
Nocte eadem somnus praesentat tedia, vexat
Par animum et corpus nocte dieque labor.
Has si non recipis causas, elinguis et infans
Sum factus; credi nolo poeta; tace.

7. Marco Longo f. 4r

Propter holus pisces si reddis, Longe, Facinis,
Munus ob hoc pisces raetiaque ipsa dato.
Si vero rogites quid sit quod demus amico,
Hortulus est pomis consitus atque holere.
Si pisces dat planta, dabunt mihi poma coquinam,
Et quod habes ficus, hinc mihi panis erit.
Da panem; decet hoc; si dant mihi talia piscem,
Vitis culta tibi est; tu mihi redde merum.
Copia iam quoiusque tibi est; maiora remitte
Munera; sic optat qui tibi magna dedit.

8. Iacobo

Mirabar Conti iam concessisse Iacobum.
Qui totiens victus vincere posse putas?
Quin gentilicios porcos agis atque capellas
Atque in Fertinis pectis oves gregibus,
Si modo quid superest pecoris quod pectere possis,
Quod tibi non turpis ambitus abstulerit?
Si tamen hinc abeas, nil perdes; namque etiamnum
Istic, sed pecoris, Barde, magister eris.

9. Hierony⟨mo⟩ Donato f. 4v

Salve nec minimo canende plectro,
Sed qui tempore tam carente vatum
Dignus vivere nec tuba carere

8.4 Fertinis, i.e. of Feltria (Feltre); cf. Pliny, *N.H.* 3.19.
9.1 minimo] mimimo F.

Possis Pindaricaque Homericaque,
Quae te maxima gesta factitantem
Per multum mare plurimasque terras,
Per ventos sequeretur et per ignes,
Quae te per spatium novem globorum
Aut septemgeminos agat planetas
Aut per mille alios poli meatus,
Aut si sint quoque milies ducenti.
Sic Parcae voluere; nam libellos
Fatorum tibi multa pollicentes,
Donate optime, non semel redegi.
Qui, seu divitias et optimarum
Terrarum regimen vel expolitum
Naturae ingenium tibi reposcis,
Nil contra statuunt. Sed inter omnes
Consensus fuit esse te beatum,
Amplum, magnificum, pium, potentem f. 5r
Clarum pectine, voce clarum et arte,
Quae nos saltibus aptat expeditis,
Nec non et dialecticum et sophistam
Inque omnis logicae matheseosque
Praestantem egregiumque disciplina.
Quem civilia iura consulentem
Et ius pontificale dictitantem,
Naturaeque aditus et implicatas
Causas atque elementa ruminantem
Et quicquid superest scientiarum,
Aetas funditus omnis obstupescet.
Quod si praeteritis tibi diebus
Nullos hendecasyllabos dicavi,
Concedas veniam meo pudori.

10. Marco Longo

Seu nos, Marce, forum retinet sive umbra domusve,
Caedo ego; tu semper, Sum tibi servus, ais.
Hoc ego servitium culpo nec ferre potis sum.
Aut igitur caedas, aut male missus abi.

11. Ad hospitem f. 5v

Fortunam Patavi si te cognoscere tangit,
Hospes, ab exiguo carmine doctus eris.
Hoc uno indicio foelix sit necne videbis,
Quom quanto fuerit praesule tuta scies.
Phoscharus hic ille est; homines qui et moenia sanctis
Moribus et vitae religione fovet.

12. In culicem

Scilicet humanae deerant incommoda vitae,
Nec fuerant homini mille pericla satis.
Vos quoque, vesani culices, in parte venitis,

Sed vobis nihil est quod simile esse putem.
Nullum deterius, nullum truculentius usquam
Terrarum in toto pascitur orbe nefas.
Nam quom alias armet pestes natura veneno,
Quomque aliae vel nos dente vel ungue petant,
Multarum insidias tecto vitamus et urbe,
Multarum infestas trudimus ense minas.
Balatus aliae pecudum sectantur inanes,
Exercent aliae per loca sola minas.
Sed quisnam a vobis sese defendier ausit? f. 6r
Quo clypeo vel qua cuspide tutus erit?
Quae legio, quae me securum moenia reddent?
Quae fuga, secreti quod penetrale laris?
Non assis gladium facitis, non bella timetis
Cinctaque militibus moenia adire suis.
Non castum nuptae thalamum teneramve puellam
Poenitet aut tremulum solicitare senem.
Pauperis et tegetem premitis Tyriumque cubile
Divitis, egregios nobiliumque toros.
Vos dulcem eripitis furiali murmure somnum,
Vulnera vos acri plena dolore datis.
Arguet hoc iuvenis, quo non praestantior alter
Doctrinae superest ingeniique bonis.
Vix primae dederat languentia membra quieti,
Mollibus avectus Pieridum studiis.
Quaque levis Zephyri se crederet aura, fenestrae
Consulto fuerat pars adaperta suae.
Hac iter arripitis propereque irrumpitis, ac si
Tota domus vestra sit populanda manu.
Et iuvenem circum fremitis ceu multa luporum f. 6v
Milia deserta si potiantur ove.
Nec modus aut numerus fit morsibus; illius autem
Senserunt tenerae spicula amara genae.
Surgit et attonitus, Quae me circumstat Erinnys,
Quae me, ait, offensi numinis ira premit?
Vix ea, quom pennis agitatus inhorruit aether
Et deus imperio Palladis Archas erat.
Ut stetit in medio, pugna instauratur utrinque,
Utraque pars dubio praelia Marte gerit.
Vos fremitu morsuque deum laceratis, at ille
Falcato plures comminus ense necat.
Tandem ausi crudele nefas ausoque potiti
Una omnes celerem carpitis inde fugam.
Ille opibus iuvenem genere et cognomine Longum,
Florentem ingenii nobilitate sui,
Solatur doctaeque fovet dulcedine linguae
Prostratum et tota surgere mente iubet.
Candida neu turpi facies livore periret,
Ter quater aeterna lavit in ambrosia.

13. Sebastiano Priulo f. 7r

Perquiris cupidus, Quid hic patrabit
Novi criminis improbus maritus,
Ut quoi non pote pristinum tenorem
Mutando dare saeculum pudicum?
Nam si transigitur malis cinaedis
Ne possint vitio suo repulsi
Sancti coniugis abrogare leges,
Quor non deciditur, puella, tecum
Una cum aliis bene ac beate,
Si pulcher tibi, si maritus unus
Spondetur tibi, quoi satis superque
Molles pro scapulis dabis papillas?
Tantum prospice filiis tenellis,
Ne quod parturis hoc edat maritus.
Nam solet pueros vorare, ut audis.

14. Marco Longo

Obsecro, quom parvo sis corpore, nomine magno,
Nonne fit ut longus sis simul atque brevis?

15. Eidem

Hoc rogo me doceas quor, quom sis corpore parvo, f. 7v
Nominis effigiem grandis ubique feras?
Si te aliquis prisco proavorum nomine cantat,
Longus es et magnum nomen ab inde tenes.
Seu quis magnificum te dixerit, hoc quoque magnum est.
Unde fit ut magnus sis simul atque brevis?

16. Ad eundem

Et pro carminibus veniunt tibi carmina, Longe,
Et pro muneribus carmina semper habes.
Et pro carminibus vestis pascisque fovesque,
Et pro muneribus tu quoque munus habe.

17. Eidem

Iam dudum pueri iuvenes matresque senesque
Tempora concelebrant praetereunda iocis.
Hic canit, hic ridet, hic pectine pulsat eburno,
Hic alternatim nobile iactat ebur.
Hic Syrio pultem chariphyllo et melle refertam
Devorat et suavi †structea cum cas[s]ia.
Ingerit hic vinum conditaque zachare citra
Imponit mensae, quae hic rapit, alter edit.
Omnia sunt tandem ludis permixta pudicis, f. 8r
Nos et adhuc tetricis degimus in studiis.

17.5 chariphyllo, i.e. caryophyllo.
17.6 structea] perhaps *struthea* (a kind of apple, Pliny, *N.H.* 5.38).

Ipse ego, qui potui iam pridem enigmata sphingos
Solvere, iam tandem succubui, fateor.
Tu quoque si ulterius nugis iis esse vacandum
Credideris, parvo tempore asellus eris.
Haec hominum possunt mutare sophismata formas
Et non implicitas perplicuisse queunt.
Non credis nobis; nodum hunc dissolve. Vel ergo
Hic non est animal, Marce, vel est asinus.
Quor tu non timeas formam mutare virilem?
Caedo, inquis; res haec quippe timenda fuit.
Marce, sapis libros; nugas age desere sacro
Tempore et ad nostras currere perge domos.
Nostra domus risu plena est; fallacia nusquam,
Sed chorus et cantus et cithara apta sonat.
Hanc tu quom intrabis secura mente, rogatus
Dices, Non timeo quod fieri nequeo.
Sic neque clitellas nec honus nec scaeva timebis
Verbera, nec stimulum nec iuga nec stabulum.

18. Marco Longo

f. 8

Marce, decus vatum, patriae spes una patrisque,
Facino sydus praesidiumque tuo,
Surge age, nec nitidos somnus pervincat ocellos,
Quo stetit ignotis Cnossia littoribus.
Surge age, et evigila nobisque edissere causam
Quor hoc visantur tempore templa magis,
Quor sua nunc properat populus delicta fateri,
Quor nunc ante aras victima multa cadit.
An quia nos hodie Christus moriendo redemit,
Admittit nostras absque labore preces?
Tu quoque si monitus non aspernabere nostros,
Virgilii pones et Ciceronis opus.
In manibus sumes divina volumina Mosae
Scriptaque sanctorum ter veneranda patrum.
Templa petes moestus culpasque efflendo lavabis,
Te sciat ut summus poenituisse deus.
Inde sacerdotem pronusque et stratus adibis
Summissa errores prodere voce tuos.

19. In discessu Litavici Odaxii

f. 9r

Inclytus Italiae princeps virtute decorus
Expetit Euganea quicquid in urbe boni est.
Hoc decet, hoc aequum est; socio iungantur amore
Inter sese homines, quos deus ipse facit.
Hos manibus finxitque suis qui condidit astra,
Moribus et iunxit Iupiter ipse suis.
Et tamen alter habet claras Antenoris arces,
Urbinum; alterius regia celsa viget.

Unde tibi Odaxi, dux inclyte, nomen ad aures?
Unde hominis quaeso cognita fama tibi est?
Anne quod egregii mores probitasque decusque
In parva nequeunt sede manere diu?
Haec sunt quis coelum vivendo ascenditur ipsum;
Nedum ausint tanti principis ire lares.
An magis hoc opus est terras, mare, et astra regentis
Inter se dignos conciliare viros?
Mirum ni tanti ducis ingens cura laboret
Ut teneat toto nobile in orbe iubar.
Pulchrior est nusquam gemma, aut preciosius aurum;
Altera et alterius crescere honore solet.
Quam grato radiat viridis fulgore smaragdus, f. 9v
Tantum auro gestit nexa decere magis.
Aurum es tu, princeps; hic est preciosa smaragdus.
Non habet ornatum te sine gemma suum.
Te nihil est uno quod sit praeclarius usquam.
Hoc quoque nil melius creditur esse viro.
Relligione Numam credas, probitate Catonem,
Et priscam Attili vincere posse fidem.
Eloquium et linguam Ciceroni cedit, at ipse
Ingenio cunctos praestat et arte viros.
Tam fovet humane Latiam Graecamque Thaliam;
Laetior atque alio fomite neutra magis.
Tam bene cuncta tenet linguam redolentia utramque;
Sic potuit culto nobilis esse duci.
Nemo suis melius tenuit se finibus unquam;
Graeca velut Latiam nesciat, ipse sapit.
Carminis ingenium, candorem, et sordida nullus
Uno in coniectu tam bene nosse potest.
Veridicas in se sortes habet, undique ad illum
Concurrunt homines, hinc puer, inde senex.
Quae morum gravitas, quaeve est praestantia in illo, f. 10r
Ut nequeat sciri quicquid inest melius?
Attamen hic nervis complectitur omnia plenis,
Sorte pari Musas excolit atque deos.
Hunc tu hominem quoniam, princeps generose, requiris,
Id facis, ut multa laude superbus eas.
Iustius hunc hominem poterunt carique parentes
Et desiderio docta caterva sequi.
Non decet alterius Litavicus stare sub umbra.
Urbine, hunc habeas possideasque virum.
Quod si instructa foret classis tibi, debuit illum
Classis honorato suscipere in gremio.
Sic quondam voluit vittata nave Platoni
Obvius atque albis ire tyrannus equis.
Sic quondam excepit classis legata Menandrum.
Hoc illis laudi est, hoc tibi pluris erit.
Ergo age ab umbrosis caedantur montibus Idae

Pinus; nam fabricam Daedalus ipse dabit.
Ancora Tyrrheni est, vela Icarus ipse parabit,
Daedalus antennam, Copaque remigium.
Non aberit Tiphys, qui puppim provehat undis, f. 10v
A rapidis fratrem qui tueatur aquis.
At tibi Nereides placandae, et plurima magno
Neptuno atque aliis vota vovenda deis.
Nanque etiam divis ventisque est cura poetae;
In regnis foveant usque precare suis.
Hunc servate virum, qui vobis tradere vitam
Aeternam et mortem quom volet ipse potest.
Hunc servate virum, fama super aethera notum,
Quoi coelum prorsus syderaque ipsa favent,
Quem mors ipsa potest venerari et credere divum,
De quo laetantur diique hominesque loqui.
Hunc hominem, Neptune, tibi studiosa iuventus
Tradit, ut incolumem restituisse velis.
Qui pariter dictanda legunt relegendaque dictant,
Hunc optant votis iure vacare suis.
Hunc Patavina cohors, fratres fidique sodales
In placida cupiunt vivere pace diu.
Undique ad hunc veniunt nasi melioris egentes
Carminaque in iusta lance notanda ferunt.
Undique facta ferunt scriptis lustranda disertis f. 11r
Ac veluti toto solus in orbe sciat.
Non tamen hic sacri rumpit pia foedera ponti,
Non violat facto iusque piumque suo.
Non aurum, non gemma hominem, non purpura honorat,
Nec praeda, tibi quam portet, honustus erit.
At pietas, et cana fides, constantiaque alti
Pectoris hunc solita est integritasque sequi.
Hunc, oro, servate virum, si iusta petuntur,
Si pia, si dignum est vota valere mea.
Denique si divi precibus flectuntur amicis,
Servate hunc hominem corpore, mente deum.
Hunc, Antenorei, pariter servate, penates,
Ut celebret vestri fortia facta laris.
Tu vero ante alios, princeps memorande, precare
Quae canat hunc scriptis posse vacare suis.
Actutum nostros adeas, Litavice, penates.
Dic age, iam nymphis nostra referta domus.
Huc docti venere homines, venere puellae,
Et tibi iam faustum praemeditantur iter.
Da dextram caris, redde oscula dulcia amicis. f. 11v
Et celerem dextro numine carpe viam.

19.58–60. See Pliny, *N.H.* 7.56.209. *Copa* (sing.) is used for *Copae*. Facinus seems to have misunderstood the reference to *Tyrrhenus*.

20. Marco Longo

Vestes Caesaribus prius rogatis
Ferebant veteres suas poetae.
At tu, Longule, non rogatus ultro
Das, quo tam bene sim togatus ac tu.
Hinc te Pierides ament colantque,
Interque innumeros prioris aevi
Vates eminulos vocere primus.
Hinc te Fulvia non ut ante pellat,
Sed vultu aspiciat sereniore.

21. Evangelium

Dum leges populis Dominus mandataque ferret,
Suscipiens quaedam de coetu foemina dixit,
Foelix infantem quae te gestaverit alvus
Et quae primiparae desuxeris ubera matris.
Olli Christus ait, Mulier, quin immo beatus,
Audit qui verbum Domini et custodit in aevum.

22. Christo

Christe potens rerum, nutu si aspexeris uno, f. 12r
Quem non servavit mors tua, me eripies.
Annue, et incipiet, pro quo cruce passus in alta es,
Vivere; neu votis, Christe, resiste meis.

23. Marco Longo

Munera non corpus sed nomina magna sequu⟨n⟩tur,
Munera sic Tydeus cuncta superba dedit.
Tu quoque si parvus magno donabis amicum
Munere, de parvo sic, puto, magnus eris.
Convenit ex aequo, magnis quem dotibus ipse
Iupiter ornarit, maxima quoique dare.
Multa coquo interea reddatur gratia versu,
Saepe modo imperiis pareat ille tuis.

24. Hierony⟨mo⟩ Donato

Hactenus hic sum te Patavi, Donate, moratus,
Venturo ut possem basia ferre tibi.
Sed quoniam dominae retinent te vincla, memento
Oscula multa tibi nomine ferre meo.
Quod tibi si forsan fuerit grave, reddere saltem
Ne pigeat sponsae suavia multa tuae.

25. Marco Longo f. 12v

Reddita sunt nobis placidissima carmina, quis tu
Facundus, prudens census es et facilis.
Sed tibi non aequum nascenti contigit astrum,
Quom posses tanti pingere quam caneres.
Quippe si ab unguiculis didicisses pingere primis,
Te nihil in toto clarius orbe foret.

Ergo qui multas tam recte amplectitur artes,
Huic uni incumbens, dic mihi, quantus erat?
Hercule ne abnueres; positis Othomanus ab armis
Et precio et precibus duceret ipse suis.
Mirum, qui populis quique omnibus imperet olim
Gentibus, illum artes appetiisse tuas.

26. De Conte Facino fratre

I pete nunc sylvas, speluncas, ardua montis
Semota ut dictent carmina Pierides.
Navigat adversis et vento et numine et unda
Contes, et populus quae canat usque facit.
Funera iam poterunt agere et componere carmen,
Si inter tot turbas cantibus iste vacat.
Carmina iam lacrimis quivis dictabit abortis, f. 13r
Et cum funeribus carminis auctor erit.

27. Ad Cynthiam

Oscula quom, mea lux, animi sint signa benigni,
Atque ideo haec poscat munera quisquis amat,
Suavia da nostris tanto potiora labellis,
Quanto amor est quovis maior amore meus;
Qualia saepe suo quondam donabat amanti,
Quoius honoratum, Cynthia, nomen habes;
Quantaque poscenti dare Lesbia sueta Catullo,
Quantaque Nasoni ferre Corinna suo;
Quaeque fero Marti foelix Cytherea dedisse
Dicitur, aut fratri prodiga sancta suo.
Et meus historias supra furor eminet omnes,
Oscula quoi non sunt deteriora satis.
Atque ideo maiora petit; maiora volentem
Suscipe; multa cupit, multa meretur amans.
Et dare si non vis, saltem ne sperne ferentem;
Nam quod polliceor dulce erit omne tibi.
Tu permitte mihi teneras tractare papillas
Atque aliqua in lecti parte iacere tui. f. 13v
Quid fugis, aut quid me poscentem blanda repellis
Oscula, quid si me diligis (inquis) abes?
Hinc abes, importune, precesque averte molestas,
Nam me compellunt oscula tanta mori.
Ast ego, te quanti faciam, quibus ignibus urar,
Non alio possum te docuisse modo.
Quod si dura negas misero solamen amanti,
Perge age, festina, morte perire iube.
Quidnam opus est miseris longam producere vitam?
Dulcior in tantis mors erit atra malis.
Quid non et longis consumptus amoribus Iphis
Duritiam scaevae fregit Anaxaretes?
Ille perit laqueo, postquam nec fletibus ullum
Nec fidei aut meritis sensit inesse locum.

Tu quoque ni, mea lux, animum mutabis acerbum,
Principium nostrae causaque mortis erit.

28. De insana

Aspice quam loquitur sine corde, ex corde puella.
Ergo ubi cor non est, cor tamen esse potest.

29. Ad Marcum Longum f. 14r

Sic placida me, Marce, potes diducere ab urbe,
Quem mea non tenuit Cynthia, rarus amor.
Sit quodcumque cupis, mihi sed succenseat illa,
Ni mea quam celeri remige trabs remeet.
Ergo sit nostri tibi mutua cura; sequemur
Quo vis, dum sit herae gratia salva meae.

30. Propertio

Saepe doles, quod te dignetur carmine nullus,
Quom sis e numero tu quoque Pierio.
Nos veniam petimus si non tibi scripsimus usquam;
Tam magnas aures carmina nostra timent.

31. Hermolao Barbaro

Barbare, quid reseras tam multa in nocte fenestras,
Et somnum strepitu, me quoque semper agis?
Si te nil removent nostri haec incommoda, saltem
Parce soporiferum laedere velle deum.

32. De mergo

Insipidum Veneti mergum sectantur ubique.
Nil mirum; mergus rex aliquando fuit.

33. De Vico Vespilione f. 14v

Mittitur Euganeam Vespilo Vicus ad oram,
Inde tibi ut medicas hauriat, aeger, aquas.
Dum redit, aeratam oppignerat axe lagellam
Ne minus officio perfruerere suo.

34. Marco Longo

Qui dat Erithreos lapides tibi, amice, vel aurum,
Divitias aperit prodigus ille suas.
Divitias alii mittant; ego pignus amoris
Quod potui, misi Persica poma; vale.

35. Bonifatio

Quod te non proprio resalutem nomine semper,
Nil mirum; mendax cogerer esse tibi.
Sit quoque et hoc minimum; qui non benefecerit usquam,
Rite sibi nomen vendicat iste malum.

36. Marco Longo

Seu cupis Eoas mundi disquirere partes,
Astra ubi nascuntur ocyus et pereunt;
Seu cupis occiduas fessique cubilia currus,
Astra ubi nascuntur serius et pereunt,
Parte fatiscentem qua terram insanus hiulcat f. 15r
Bosphorus, Herculei grande laboris opus;
Seu lubet Assyrio porrectas littore Sirtes,
Hic ubi Cisipadum barbara terra iacet;
Seu loca, quae solis sita comminus orbita torret,
Perpetui flamma syderis usta lubet;
Seu lubet audacem pharetra immitemque Gelonum
Et latus aeterno stansque rigensque gelu;
Dispeream, si quo tecum comes ire recusem.
Omnis mi duce te tuta brevisque via.
Dispeream, si non sine te comes ire recusem.
Omnis mi sine te scaeva gravisque via est.

37. Amico

Phosphore, marcescunt torpentia corpora somno,
Sit nisi qui cogat pervigilare labor.
Marcescunt animi, nisi sit quae cura iacentes
Sollicitet, nisi quae torqueat ingenium.
Te quoque ni moveat virtutis cura perennis,
Marcescet toto tempore vita tibi.

38. Marco Longo

Marce, quid Adriaca tantum retineris in urbe? f. 15v
Continet urbs Patavi quod petis inde; redi.
Haec tibi virginea redimitos tempora lauro
Rhetoras, haec tellus grammaticosque dabit.
Hic sacer astrorum cursus, hic dogmata divum,
Hic et Aristotelis scripta probata vigent.
Adde, mathematicas vir plurimus excutit artes.
Quas colimus dominas persequimurque deas.
Ars tua, quae nexus plicat explicat, arsque medendi
Hunc sibi praedives vendicat arte locum.
Hic ius quoique suum tribuit quae sydera linquens
Esse suam voluit barbara tecta domum.
Hic est ille tuos Galeatius inter amicos
Maximus, hic cordi fixa puella tuo est.
Parvi cuncta facis, sed tu nisi caveris undas
Thiodamanteo mox comes ibis Hylae.
Nymphis ardor eris, quae quom tentabis abire
Te rapient, nec eris postmodo, Marce, tuis.
Dii, quibus Adriaci maris est tutella, volentem

36.8 Cisipadum] see Pliny, *N.H.* 5.4.27.
38.16 Thiodamanteo] Thiodomanteo F.

Reddite; si nolit, sit suus ac valeat.
Sic coma cerulea semper redimita sit alga, f. 16r
Sic fugiat vestros nulla puella toros.

39. Marco Longo

Tradere parva negat, qui non dare magna recusat.
Magnificus nescit munera parva dare.
Parva dabunt pueri, parvo donabere ab illis.
Si modo parva cupis, foemina parva dabit.

40. Eidem

Quor tam saepe mihi veniunt tua munera pisces?
Desine piscari, Longule, mitte merum.
Nunc Bacchi est celebranda dies nec tempora poscunt
Piscem, sed vinum; desine, mitte merum.
Mitte merum; venit ecce deus, venit ecce puella
Cnosia littoribus, Dia, relicta tuis.
Ecce puellarum circumstrepitantibus hastis
Copia pampineis; eia age, mitte merum.
Ebrius ecce venit properatque Silenus asello;
En cadit, immo ruit; eia age surge, pater.
Clamitat en Lotis, num scurra, Priape, deorum
Quam me credis, ait, sumne Suburra tibi?
Oscula surripies, mihi tu dabis oscula; certe f. 16v
Non impune dabis, si dabis ulla mihi.
Sed bene libratis vecors dabis oscula pugnis,
Et qui nunc lipis, improbe, caecus eris.
Ecce venit satyrus, venit en Pomona, venit Pan,
Vertumnusque simul ecce Mimallonides.
Ad nos, Bacche, venis; venit ad nos ille reditque.
Longule, quid cessas mittere? Mitte merum.
Sum Bacchus, sum cura tui, sum cura tuorum.
Tu quoque cura mea es; funde, refunde merum.
Differ, Bacche pater, paulum; nam victima quamquam
Hircus adest, aris victima grata tuis,
Desunt vina tamen quis frigida cuncta calescunt
Et quis laetitiam tristia cuncta trahunt.
Differ; nostra penus lympharum toxica sentit.
Portentum est Baccho promere deuterias.
Mitte merum; properat, maledicit, et instat Iacchus;
Impatiens sitis est impatiensque morae.

41. In caveam

Sum bonus aspectu, sum gratus voce domoque.

42. In caveam f. 17r

Foelix hac cavea quaecumque habitaverit ales.

40.6 Dia, i.e. Naxos.

43. Eiusdem
Foelix servitium tam pulchro in carcere claudi.

44. Eiusdem
Par libertati servitium hac cavea est.

45. Eiusdem
Non est servitium tam pulchra includier aula.

46. Eiusdem
Dulcis avis pulchra conspicienda domo.

47. Marco Longo
Ut rabidus liquidas horresco Ponticus undas,
Si te sic fugiat Fulvia, tristis eris.
Lympham tolle, precor, vel me patiaris abire.
Vina beant; lymphis plebs Patavina furit.

48. Propert⟨i⟩o
Miraris merulum rauce cecinisse, Properti,
Si inter potores quenque madere decet.
Pluribus hic praestat, qui se conformat amicis.
Ergo age concinnum carpere parce virum.

49. Amico f. 17v
Ede quid in curru temo prior, inque carina
Posterior. Quor non uno eodemque loco est?

50. Responsio
Currum temo suum trahit, ast a puppe trahatur
Est opus; iccirco est hinc prior, inde sequens.

51. Responsio
Ipse suo trahitur currus temone, sed ipsa
Temoni ratis est duxque comesque suo.

52. Repetitio
Quod petii dubito, neque te docuisse putato.
Quod peto ne dicas, atque petita doce.

53. Bonifacio Bembo
Ite et Praxagatho referte nostro,
Quantum laeter eum redisse tandem
Ad nos incolumenque candidumque,
Ac me illum cupere admodum videre,
Quoi me litterulas dedisse nescit
Ullas praeteritis retro diebus.
Quod ne sit capitale mi misello,
Ante ad me veniant vades necesse est. f. 18r
Qui si forte suum venire praedem

Ad me noluerit volens libensque,
Secum dicite mente ut ipse volvat
Me posse aequo animo carere amici
Ipsa sede superflua ac sacello.

54. Marco Longo

Haec sunt quae dones pueris ientacula terrae,
Si modo nunc quantos edidit ante parit.
Sed tamen utcunque est, stomacho vel maxima nostro
Conveniunt; grates non refero, ast habeo.

55. Ad Cynthiam

Iamdudum placidam vixi, mea Cynthia, vitam.
Nunc vivo, ast vita est durior exequiis.
Euganea solus spatior miserabilis urbe,
Nec quenquam excepta te alloquor aut video.
Nec me Pierides solantur luce nec umbra,
Nec coma nec comites nec cithara ulla placet.
Nocte cadunt lacrimae, nulloque pudore retenti
Emittunt oculi flumina magna mei.
Excitor a stratis pavidusque emergere cogor, f. 18v
Ne nos vorticibus obruat unda suis.
Sed quotiens cedit nitidis nox alma quadrigis,
Devorat assiduus pectora nostra dolor.
Nocte dies peior, nox luce est tristior ipsa,
Et iubet alterutram vincere saevus amor.
Hei misero quoniam pro me tristantur et illi,
Tristities quibus est cognita nostra minus;
Et tu quae me intus discernis et in cute, tantum
Cruda eris ut nullo tempore mitis eas.
Nam quae me miserum vexant incommoda amantem,
Tu modo sis mecum, ventus et unda feret.
Vive precor mecum; sic virgine dignior omni,
Sic sis Thespiacis semper amica deis.
Sic coma splendidulo semper sit fulta capillo
Atque genas nullo tempore ruga terat.
Nam mihi non desunt montes et flumina, quaeque
Me matutino tempore mulcet avis,
Veste nitens nivea nigrisque ornata capillis,
At ruffo capite lusca decensque simul.
Audiet hanc dulci modulamine nulla canentem, f. 19r
Visceribus positam quin velit esse suis.
Ut tamen et fluvii, montes, nemus, omnia desint,
Tu tecum fontes, tu nemora alta feres.
Delitiaeque aderunt nobis optantibus omnes,
Si venies celeri, Cynthia rara, pede.
Quod si etiam natura parens mihi cuncta negarit
Commoda, quae tecum tu neque ferre queas,
Ne nostrum longo pereat tibi tempore nomen,
Deposita debes accelerare mora.

56. Marco Longo

Vera refers, scriptis quae sint signata tabellis
Carmina ab ingenio, Longule, facta tuo?
Gratulor, ingenio moliris maxima semper.
Perge, et eris patria primus in Hadriaca.

57. Quor Ponticus

Scipio vix meruit cognomen grande, quod illi
Africa victori maxima victa dedit.
Quem nundum vidi, tribuit mihi nomina Pontus.
Hunc si vicissem, quod mihi nomen erat?

58. Marco Longo f. 19v

Tardior est servus, quam sit mora longa, repertus;
Quam iubeat dominus, rem tamen ante facit.
Nam modo tu summo properaret mane iubebas,
Stertentem stratis excuteretque meis.
Necdum iucundae dederam mea membra quieti,
Quom mihi mandatis astitit ille tuis.

59. Ad Hesperum

Hespere, tolle moras, noctem lature diemque.
Nox tenebras, lucem Longulus ipse dabit.
Hic violas simul atque rosas et veris honores,
Praeterea ingenii plurima pulchra sui,
Afferet et mores summa probitate refertos,
Cumque deo totam Pallada Castalio.

60. Amico

Iram vince, precor, quoniam qui caetera vincit,
Non debet misero succubuisse sibi.
Rex est qui posuit quod mentem laedit et aufert.
Nam qui se nequit vincere, nil superat.

61. In nuptiis Bernard⟨ini⟩ Paganini

Vertite iam vultus animosque ad nostra benigne f. 20r
Carmina, praestantes nobilitate viri.
Nec me coniugii sacris de rebus agentem
Credite tam tenues sponte subire modos.
Quod quom olim magni strueret primordia mundi
Tradidit aeternus constituitque deus,
Quom primum ficto generi mandata dedisset,
Crescite et humanum multiplicate genus.
Quor se divinis hominum solertia rebus
Applicet, ignotam sollicitetque fidem?
Quor quae non potuit cognoscere, tentet adire,
Aut plus quam satis est, plus penetrare velit?
Mortali satis est mortales noscere causas.

57.3 nundum, i.e. nondum.

Haec erit in numeris gloria sola meis.
Magna alios moveant; vos, quae me cunque subibunt,
Accipite attentis auribus ista, precor.
Nardino consors hodie Lucretia nostro
Sponsa erit, aeterni lege volente dei.
Hanc sua formosam Vincentia gaudet alumnam
Et genere atque animo labe carente piam.
Hic Antenoreae doctissimus urbis alumnus f. 20v
Et genere et cultu splendidiore nitet.
Ergo age iam tedas affer, Paganine, iugales.
Hic tibi nunc tota voce vocetur Hymen.
Ipsa nec averso facilis Saturnia vultu
In votis veniat saepe vocanda tuis.
His ducibus pulchra decoratam dote puellam
In thalamos speres semper habere tuos.
Et quia tu foelix, foelix ducatur et uxor
Virgineas multo sparsa rubore genas.
Sunt tibi cum multa mores probitate benigni,
Quos puto longaevos posse decere senes.
Et procul a duro mens est placidissima fastu,
Canaque iucunda cum pietate fides.
Est tibi quae multa virtus nitet indole, quaeque
Non nisi sunt clari pignora certa viri.
Sic tibi foelici relevanda est coniuge proles,
Quae possit patrii nominis esse decus,
Quaeque tuos omni studeat conamine mores
Nosse, nec in patriis degener esse bonis.
Quandoquidem tali te digna erat illa marito, f. 21r
Tu bonus et tanta coniuge dignus eras.
Ergo quod superest, superos, formose, precabor
Tempora continuis dent veneranda iocis;
Vestraque et ut longos solvenda trahantur in annos
Mutua concessi gaudia coniugii;
Vestraque concordes producant stamina Parcae,
Sentiat extremum donec uterque diem;
Vestraque quom triplices infringant fila sorores,
Spiritus Elysias noscat uterque domos.
Interea dextram da iungere, neve volenti
Basiolum sponsae surripuisse time.
Tu quoque legitimo nequicquam obstabis amori,
Quin cupias sponsi iura tuere tui.
Brachia multiplici coeant liventia nexu,
Lingua micet iunctis conduplicata labris.
At vos quom egeritis sponsalia vestra, parentes,
Una omnes sancta plaudite laetitia.

62. De Attalico

Attalicum pronis veneror, non Attalum, ocellis.
Attalicum, quisquis hunc resalutat, amat. f. 21v

63. Pontici aetas

Est mihi qui decimum frater quater egerit annum;
Cognita vix bene sunt lustra quaterna mihi.
Quem non hic vidit, vidi tamen ipse parentem.
Sic maior natu posthumus esse potest.

64. De presbytero

Venerat ad claras Patavini praesulis aedes
Presbyter, eximii ceu foret hospes heri.
Atque ita quom longas tererent sermonibus horas,
A docto fuerat coena parata coquo.
Caeperat et lautae nidor penetrare culinae;
Nec mora, quom primum presbyter orsus ait:
Quor non instructae te dedis, episcope, mensae?
Quor potius tu non hinc agis? ille refert.
Macte, o magnifici mores, si perdere coenam,
Si per convivam praesul obire potest.

65. Ad Litavicum Rom⟨anum⟩

Quor dudum fuerint tantae tibi raetia curae,
Nunc nihil admiror, sed mihi causa canis.
Quem quotiens video, vellem mutare figuram f. 22r
Et praedam fieri me simul atque canem.
O tantum valeam forma mutarier, ut me
Depereat canis hic tuus atque habeat.

66. Pierio

Accipitrem Hermoleo properas donare, sed haec res
Praetori ostendet milia furta tuo.
Res tua nunc agitur, tibi prospice, habeberis inde
Pedico, mechus, fur, homicida, latro.
Adde quod et scaevo maiestas crimine laesa est,
Et quod non nihil est carcere tentus eris.
Namque tibi poterit succur⟨r⟩ere quodque fatenti
Ignis, crux, laqueus, hamus, humus, gladius.

67. Hermolao Barb⟨aro⟩

Barbare, tot petii quot sunt donata Catullo
Basia, vel totidem quot Venus apta dedit.
Tanquam progrederer, quae non sunt danda rogando,
Desisti ulterius querere basiolum.
Quod quom plura feras quam quis quaesiverit usquam,
Iam dicam, Ferto quot tulit Hermoleos.

68. Marco Longo f. 22v

Unde fit ut nullas des nobis, Marce, tabellas?
Anne tuo quod sim pectore lapsus ego?

63.3 hic] his F.
63.4 natu] nato F.

Quid porro immemorem nostri te reddit amoris?
An dolor affecti dentis, an ipsa salus?
Dira salus, nostri immemores quae reddis amicos,
Pernities prope iam nec vocitanda salus.

69. Hermolao Barbaro

Ranarum murumque simul fera proelia quondam
Concinuit grandis buccina Meonidae.
Tedia vesparum, celeberrime Barbare, cantas,
Tedia Meonia non reticenda tuba.
Verum haec quae magno cedunt dumtaxat Homero
Admiraturum terque quaterque scio,
Si scierit quisquam subito de pectore fusa
Atque inter medium prosiluisse merum.
Dumque ea dictanti vellem librarius esse,
Dictantem tardae deseruere manus.
Vix prima excipio, quom tollor et obruor undis
Ingenii et multas conbibo mersus aquas.
Finieras; quom tu transcribere cuncta parabas, f. 23r
Non fecisse fuit sed meminisse labor.
Ergo lusa tibi perierunt carmina vixque
Haec sunt de multis pauca reperta tibi.

70. Marco Longo

Dum petis a nobis quid agas, petis an sit iniquo
An potius recto tramite eunda via.
Virtutem dubitas igitur vitiumne sequaris,
Dedecus et veniat lausne petenda tibi.
At non hoc Megareus animosus et impiger idem
Poscere Cecropium sustinuisset herum,
Quom scaevas patriae leges mortisque pericla
Proderet et vetitum saepius iret iter.
Tu quoque si fas est, tibi consule meque revise,
Segnitiam et patriis, Marce, relinque vadis.

71. Hermolao Barbaro

Quom tria temporibus steterint miracula nostris,
Barbare, iuditium de tribus ede tuum.
Anne quod uxorem Theatinus duxerit, an quod
Donato nupsit pulchra puella suo?
An potius castam Contem traducere vitam? f. 23v
Quid tibi sit mirum de tribus ede magis.
Si bene te novi, lepidissime Barbare, dices,
Nil mihi nunc affers, Pontice, quod dubitem;
At tu quod magis est mirabere, quom tibi rumor
Perveniet, thalamos sponsam iniisse meos.

70.5 Megareus, i.e. Euclides.

72. Marco Longo

Contem nulla tenet, Theatino est foemina coniunx,
Iam petit Hermoleum blanda puella suum.
Donatus placidam degit cum coniuge vitam;
Tu quoque quam ducas, Longule dulcis, habes.
Aetereos rerum dominos quis deneget orbes,
Haec hominum praeter quom sciat esse fidem?

73. De nuptiis Hierony⟨mi⟩ Donati

Omnia iam timeat maneatque horrenda necesse est,
Pectore qui memori dicta Tonantis habet.
Tunc quom prodigiis terrarum implebitur orbis,
Extremum, populi, credite adesse diem.
Pax erat in populos; Hieronymon attulit ecce
Fama puellari succubuisse iugo.
Phisicus uxorem duxit Theatinus, at o vos f. 24r
Coelicole tantum dii prohibete nefas.
Quid non astra queunt? Tam libera pectora vinci!
Iam iam de coelo corruite, astra, precor.

74. Marco Longo

Iurat amicorum quisquis par vivere nullum,
Fallitur; indicium si petis, ipse dabo.
Ponticus en ego sum, carus tibi, Longule, amicus,
Quoi possunt omnes cedere am⟨i⟩citiae.
Non tamen hic amor est tanti, moriatur ut alter,
Longe, sed ut sotio vivat uterque suo.
Nullus enim prodesse potest nisi vivus amico.
Vita, ades; a laribus mors procul esto meis.

75. Eidem

Tu licet invisas Veronam, Marce, nitentem
Atque Athesim media qui fluit urbe colas,
Te licet oblectent Benaci divitis arva,
Seu modo seu mox tu pergere ad illa paras,
Hic ubi ad excipulas transmissa Mintius unda
Per Venetum placido labitur amne solum,
Quamquam tu positis curis animoque fugatis f. 24v
Nactus sis toto pectore delicias,
Si conferre velim nostris tamen illa, dolebis
Veronam nobis praeposuisse tuis.
Laeta hic planicies, laetissima pabula, et unde
Nomen, perpetuo gramine prata virent.

72.1 Theatino] Theatimo F.

73.9 The punctuation of this line and the construction of *vinci* are uncertain. The infinitive may be exclamatory, but it is possible that the meaning is 'Why can't the stars prevent such free spirits from being conquered?' Perhaps the author thinks that *prohibere* can be understood from *prohibete* in l. 8.

Hic rivi, hic fontes, hic invitantia somnos
Murmura saxoso calle fluentis aquae.
Circumdant placidi naturae munere colles,
Amphitheatrali cingitur orbe locus.
Huc non ulla pedem fert noxia bellua, non mus,
Non e longinquo vecta locusta mari.
Hic nec aratoris rodunt vestigia corvi,
Non aliae segetem depopulantur aves.
Hos non urit hyems, non dira canicula campos,
Non hic imperium noxius Hauster habet.
Sed tempestivas tophus tener educat herbas
Et sera aeternis frons cadit arboribus.
Daulias hic toto vocalis visitur anno,
Hic avibus cantum tempora non adimunt.
Huc ego crediderim cunctas migrasse Camoenas f. 25r
Atque ipsum intonsa qui viget usque coma.
Parnasum Aonides liquerunt, liquit Apollo,
Postquam illos pressit barbara planta locos.
Si potes hos igitur contemnere, Marce, recessus,
Te puto posse ipsas spernere Pieridas.

76. Epitaph⟨ium⟩

Qui nulli fueram patriis virtutibus impar,
Ipse sub hoc iaceo marmore Nicoleos.
Gens mihi Maurocena fuit; mutasse penates
Et patriam coelo non piget, immo libet.

77. Epitaph⟨ium⟩

Caesar, Alexander, Turchus de sede queruntur;
Quisque habet unde loci munera prima petat.
Minos Pelleum, Turchum fovet Eacus, ipso
Caesare sed maius nil Rhadamanthus habet.
Ad quos Soncinus, statuit sic rector Averni,
Arbiter accessit iusque piumque ferens.
Heu tua te pietas, tua te sapientia, Petre,
Sustulit, heu, Superi, iam nocet esse pio.

78. Eiusdem f. 25v

Accubat hic Petrus Soncinae gloria gentis,
Consilio toti cognitus Italiae.

79. Epitaph⟨ium⟩

Quam patriae quisquam genitrici debuit unquam,
Tam, Domiti, debet lingua Latina tibi.
Atqui se obstrictam loquitur Verona doletque,
Quod tibi quam licuit contigit ante mori.
Quid non mors ausit? Periit quem vivere semper
Optabat votis terra polusque suis.

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79 and 80. The text is the same in Verona, Capitolare, cod. 257, f. 7.

80. Eiusdem

Quam, Domiti, Verona tibi debere fatetur,
  Tam tibi debetur linguae utriusque decus.
Verior interpres nullus fuit aut erit usquam.
  Quare etiam invita morte superstes eris.

81. Epitaph⟨ium⟩

Hic Antonius ossa Lilianus
Componi sua iussit atque condi,
Iuris Caesarei peritus atque
Assessor, comes et latrunculator
Praetorum probus Adriaticorum f. 26r
Cecinnae patria Vitelliani.

82. Paulo Ramusio

Quid quereris, quod te decepit quaestor uterque?
  Verba petis? Nescis sic tibi verba dari?

83. Marco Longo

Pessima ne stomachum moveant tibi carmina, Marce;
  Offendantque aures turpia verba tuas,
Mittitur iste tibi chartaque et pumice cultus
  Et titulo plus quam nobiliore liber,
Ut saltem aspectu solo pascantur ocelli,
  Si minus auditu gratior esse potest.
Quandoquidem hic igitur talis pervenerit ad te,
  Dum tunicam spectes, interiora fuge.
Respue contentum, quod continet aspice tantum.
  Hoc pacto a fatuo carmine tutus eris.
Hoc fruere, haud aliter quam si tibi, Marce, daretur
  Purpurea corvus turpior in cavea,
Nec bonus aspectu nec gratus voce, sed esset
  Turpis avis, sola conspicienda domo.
Sic liber hic, pulchro tantum contentus amictu, f. 26v
  Non aliud, quare se tibi iactet, habet.

[The rest of this page has a note on the 'Fior di virtu', written in Italian by a later hand.]

The Italian League, Francesco Sforza, and Charles VII (1454-1461)[1]

THE struggle of the Italian League against the Italian territorial ambitions of Charles VII of France has been little studied in all its ramifications. By necessity, the attention of historians has been drawn primarily to the belated energetic efforts of the 'King of Bourges' in the latter part of his reign which led to the final defeats of the English invaders in the last phases of the Hundred Years War. The continuation of the Franco-Italian struggle under the more capable and astute successor of Charles VII, Louis XI, has attracted more attention, and has tended to obscure the first phase of the conflict. The first phase, however, is important for the proper evaluation of Louis XI's Italian policy, and it is to this period that this study is devoted. An account of the conflict between the Italian League and Charles VII will serve to illustrate the continuous interest of the French monarchy in Italian affairs during the second half of the fifteenth century which finally culminated in Charles VIII's invasion of Italy in 1494. At the same time, it allows us to test the effectiveness of the league in facing its first important crisis—the Angevin invasion of the kingdom of Naples in the fall of 1459. Finally, it will reveal the central role played by Francesco Sforza, duke of Milan, in the league's opposition to French encroachments in Italy and the European ramifications of his foreign policy. Before attempting, however, to recount the main events of the struggle, it will be necessary to recapitulate briefly the long history of French interventions in Italy and the leading events immediately preceding the creation of the Italian League in 1454–1455, which in many respects can be considered an anti-French compact.

[1] This study has been adapted from my doctoral dissertation, *The Italian League and Francesco Sforza. A Study in Diplomacy, 1450–1466*, presented at Harvard University in December 1957. The dissertation was written under the direction of Professor Myron P. Gilmore, whom I wish to thank for many valuable suggestions. The reader is referred to the larger work for a detailed and more amply documented treatment.

The territorial ambitions of the French monarchy in Italy date back to the Italian expedition of Charles of Anjou (1266), brother of St. Louis, which established an Angevin dynasty both in Naples and Sicily, or, after the anti-Angevin Sicilian rebellion of 1282 (the Sicilian Vespers), only in the kingdom of Naples. In the following century, in 1387, another brother of a French king, Louis of Orleans, extended French influence in northern Italy by marrying Valentina Visconti, daughter of Giangaleazzo Visconti, ruler of Milan. With this marriage the Orleans family acquired the county of Asti as dowry and future claims of succession to the duchy of Milan itself. In addition, the French held Genoa as a protectorate from 1396 to 1409, while the duchy of Savoy and the marquisates of Saluzzo and Monferrato were held in various bonds of vassalage by the French. When we recall that the papacy itself was dominated by the French monarchy throughout the fourteenth century, and that the Republic of Florence was strongly francophile, we can appreciate the extent of French influence in Italy during the first two centuries of the Renaissance.[2] The fact that the French monarchy did not transform this influence into an actual direct or indirect rule of most of the peninsula through its cadet branches can be attributed largely to its exhausting conflict with England and to the weakness of some of its kings.

The first half of the fifteenth century, which witnessed the most critical abasement of the French monarchy under the semi-demented Charles VI, as well as its slow resurgence under Charles VII, coincided with a reduction of French influence in Italy. Genoa revolted and expelled the French in 1409.[3] In 1442 the successor to the last Angevin ruler of Naples (Giovanna II), René, duke of Anjou and count of Provence, lost the throne to his rival, Alfonso V of Aragon, who established the Aragonese dynasty in the kingdom.[4] The rally of the French monarchy during the closing years of the Hundred Years War, however, brought forth more forceful attempts on the part of the now energetic Charles VII to prosecute French territorial claims in Italy and establish a French hegemony in the peninsula.

This renewal of French activity in Italy was facilitated by the perennial

[2] For the extent of French influence in the Italian peninsula during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, consult particularly M. de Boüard, *Les Origines des guerres d'Italie: la France et l'Italie au temps du Grand Schisme d'Occident* (Paris, 1936), and G. Peyronnet, 'Les relations politiques entre la France et l'Italie, principalement au XIV^e^ et dans la première moitié du XV^e^ siècle', *Le Moyen Age*, ser. IV, IV (1949), 301–342, and V (1950), 85–113.

[3] L. Simeoni, *Le Signorie* (Milan, 1950), II, 649.

[4] N. F. Faraglia, *Storia della lotta tra Alfonso V e Renato d'Angiò* (Lanciano, 1908).

strife among the Italian states, now aggravated by the crisis of the Milanese succession. Filippo Maria Visconti, duke of Milan, had died in 1447 leaving no legitimate or clearly designated heirs. The inheritance was claimed by his wife, Maria of Savoy; his son-in-law, Francesco Sforza, husband of the duke's illegitimate but recognized daughter, Bianca Maria; King Alfonso of Naples; the Emperor Frederick III; Duke Charles of Orleans; and a number of neighboring states, particularly the Republic of Venice, which claimed parts of the duchy. Finally, the upper classes of Milan itself, fired by self-interest as well by recollections of ancient republican ideals, captured power for themselves, and proclaimed the *Aurea Republica Ambrosiana* one day after the death of Filippo Maria.[5]

There is no need to recount the familiar story of Sforza's overthrow of the Ambrosian republic which led to his acclamation as duke by the people of Milan on 22 March 1450.[6] Such acclamation, however, could not take the place of the emperor's recognition, for which the new ruler began negotiations and continued them throughout his rule, always without success. Actually Sforza desired imperial recognition for reasons of prestige and bargaining power against other claimants, for the empire had long ceased to be an important factor in Italian affairs.[7] The only claimant able and willing seriously to threaten his newly acquired state was Venice, which in October 1450 had signed an anti-Sforza alliance with Alfonso of Naples.[8]

Sforza was not alone in facing this powerful alliance, for in July 1451 he had signed a ten-year defensive and offensive compact with Florence.[9] This treaty represented a revolutionary reversal of alliances. For a generation the two sister republics had fought together against Milanese ag-

[5] On the many claimants to the Visconti inheritance, see particularly two articles by F. Cusin, 'L'Impero e la successione degli Sforza ai Visconti', *Arch. stor. Lombardo*, New Ser., I (1936), 3–116, and 'Le aspirazioni straniere sul Ducato di Milano e l'investitura imperiale (1450–54),' *ibid.*, 277–369; C. A. Vianello, 'Gli Sforza e l'Impero', *Atti e Memorie del Primo Congresso Storico Lombardo (1936)* (Milan, 1937), pp. 193 ff.; A. M. Robinson, 'The Claims of the House of Orleans to Milan', *English Hist. Rev.* III (1888), 34–62.

[6] A recent account of these events can be found in the new *Storia di Milano*, vol. VI, *Il Ducato Visconteo, 1392–1450* (Milan, 1955). Political events are narrated by F. Cognasso.

[7] See Cusin's articles: 'L'Impero,' pp. 87 ff., 'Le aspirazioni', pp. 322 ff., and 'Le relazioni tra l'Impero e il Ducato di Milano dalla Pace di Lodi alla morte di Francesco Sforza', *Arch. stor. Lombardo*, New Ser., III (1938), 3–110; Vianello, *op. cit.*, pp. 223 ff.

[8] R. Predelli, *I libri commemoriali della Republica di Venezia: Regesti* (Venice, 1901), V, no. 175, 55.

[9] The text of the treaty was published by A. Colombo, 'A proposito delle relazioni tra Francesco I Sforza e Firenze (luglio 1451)', *Rendiconti della R. Accademia dei Lincei: Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filosofiche*, ser. V, XV (1906), 553–560.

gression in the name of the *libertas Italiae* threatened by Filippo Maria's hegemonic dreams. Now Florence had chosen to defend a new Milanese ruler against her former ally. Such a shift in alliances can be ascribed primarily to the influence of Cosimo de' Medici, who, since his return from exile in 1434, had gradually become the real ruler of the Florentine republic. Cosimo was convinced that the Venetian expansion in *terra ferma*, during the first half of the fifteenth century, threatened the independence of the other Italian states. Moreover, further Venetian advances in Lombardy would have given Venice control of most Alpine passes, so vital for the flow of Florentine commerce to northern Europe, at a time when Florence was making determined efforts to develop a fleet capable of competing with her rival for the carrying trade in the Mediterranean. A Florentine alliance with a strong and friendly Milanese ruler would have been a good defense against this double-edged peril. For these reasons, Cosimo had helped Sforza to capture Milan with his personal loans and advice.[10]

Cosimo also feared the hegemonic ambitions of the bellicose King of Naples, who ruled the largest state in the peninsula in addition to his overseas possessions (Aragon, Sicily, and Sardinia) and claimed the duchy of Milan itself. These vast dominions were rendered more formidable by his control of the combined Aragonese and Neapolitan fleet, one of the strongest in the Mediterranean.[11] A Florentine alliance with the new ruler of Milan, therefore, was intended to serve as protection against the hegemonic aspirations of both Venice and Naples, and to preserve the balance of power in Italy.

Both sides acquired a number of minor allies in Italy.[12] In addition,

[10] An influential group of Florentine magnates, led by Giannozzo Manetti and Neri di Gino Capponi, opposed the shift in alliances. See particularly, L. Rossi, 'Venezia e il re di Napoli, Firenze e Francesco Sforza dal 1450 al 1451', *Nuovo arch. veneto*, New Ser., X (1905), 5–46, 281–356; E. Jordan, 'Florence et la succession lombarde, 1447–1450', *Mélanges d'archeologie et d'histoire de l'École Française de Rome* LX (1889), 113 ff.; and recently, H. Baron, *The Crisis of the Early Italian Renaissance: Civic Humanism and Republican Liberty in an Age of Classicism and Tyranny* (Princeton, 1955), pp. 347–350. For the commercial rivalry between the two republics, consult G. Luzzatto, *Storia economica dell'età moderna e contemporanea* (Padua, 1932), I, 136 ff., and A. Sapori, 'I primi viaggi di Levante e di Ponente delle galere fiorentine', *Arch. stor. italiano* CXIV (1956), 69–91.

[11] On Alfonso's hegemonic ambitions in Italy, and on the power of the Aragonese in the Mediterranean, see E. Pontieri, *Per la storia del regno di Ferrante I d'Aragona, re di Napoli* (Naples, 1946), pp. 125 ff., and J. Vicens-Vives, *Fernando el Católico, Príncipe de Aragon Rey de Sicilia, 1458–1478* (Madrid, 1952), pp. 37 ff.

[12] See L. Rossi, 'I prodromi della guerra in Italia del 1452–53. I tiranni di Romagna e Federico da Montefeltro', *Atti e memorie della R. Deputazione di stor. patria delle Marche*, New Ser., II (1905), 1–91, 303–353; III (1906), 63–124, 189–224, 279–305.

Cosimo and Sforza decided to seek the aid of Charles VII, using the kingdom of Naples as a bait. It was Cosimo, desirous to continue the traditional francophile foreign policy of the republic, who insisted upon the overtures to the French monarch. For centuries Florence had enjoyed close economic and political relations with the House of Anjou ruling Naples and the French monarchy. During the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, Guelf Florence had learned to rely on the Angevin rulers of Naples for aid against her Ghibelline enemies led by the emperors. With this policy, Florentine merchants and bankers had acquired an extensive and privileged economic position both in southern Italy and in France.[13] It was natural, therefore, that the republic should wish to seek the support of her traditional friends, particularly when the new ruler of Naples was displaying such an aggressive attitude.

Sforza considered Cosimo's policy unwise in the long run. He was convinced that, once the French were allowed to recapture the kingdom of Naples, they would also attempt to recover Genoa, and proceed to press their claims over Milan itself. He was unwilling to facilitate the realization of French territorial ambitions in Italy by inviting French troops to the peninsula.[14] On the other hand, realizing that his threatened state depended on the support of either France or the empire, he saw no choice, in view of the emperor's opposition, but to seek French aid.[15] He hoped that the threat of such an alliance would serve to enhance his bargaining power with Frederick III.[16]

Cosimo's wishes prevailed, and it was decided to send Angelo Acciaioli, a friend of Cosimo and a man with many commercial interests in France, to negotiate the alliance with Charles VII in the name of both allies. Acciaioli received his instructions from the Florentine *Signoria* on

[13] For the economic and political ties between Florence and the French, consult G. Yver, *Le Commerce et les marchands dans l'Italie meridionale au XIII et au XIV siècle* (Paris, 1903), chap. v; A. Doren, *Storia economica dell'Italia nel medioevo*, tr. from the German by G. Luzzatto (Padua, 1936), pp. 378–380; M. A. Desjardins, *Négociations diplomatiques de la France avec la Toscane. Documents recueillis par Giuseppe Canestrini* (Paris, 1859), introduction to vol. I, XI–XLI, and 1–61.

[14] Sforza's fears of French aggressive intentions at this early date have already been pointed out by L. Rossi, 'La lega tra il duca di Milano, i fiorentini e Carlo VII re di Francia', *Arch. stor. lombardo*, ser. IV, V (1906), 248 ff.

[15] Sforza wrote to his wife on 22 Aug. 1452: 'considerato che questo stato de Lombardia non po stare senza lo appogio overo del Imperatore o della prefatta maesta della corona de Franza, havimo deliberato fare fondamento in essa corona de Franza'. Quoted by Gaston du Fresne de Beaucourt, *Histoire de Charles VII* (Paris, 1881–1891), V, 171, n. 5.

[16] Cusin, 'Le aspirazioni', p. 356.

10 September 1451. He was to propose an alliance to the king, and urge him to come to Italy in person or send a royal prince. If Charles wished to know what specific aid he could expect from the Florentines in case of a French attack against Naples, or against any other state, the envoy was to reply that he lacked specific instructions on this point. He could only affirm that the king could count on the devotion of the entire city. However, the *Signoria* felt that Charles was too busy at this time to think of such enterprises.

These instructions must have seemed too vague even to the *Signoria*, for on the following day Acciaioli received additional instructions. Now the ambassador was directed to offer as little aid as possible, not to exceed 3,000 horsemen, if the king intended to invade Naples. He was to point out that the burden of the enterprise should be borne primarily by the king and the Duke of Milan, who stood to gain most from a defeat of Alfonso. The republic was too exhausted by recent wars to bear the brunt of another. Moreover, the *Signoria* wished that any mention of this aid be confined to a secret clause apart from the treaty of alliance.[17]

From these instructions it can be gathered that the Florentines had no real interest in a possible French reconquest of the kingdom of Naples. They were attempting to secure French aid with vague promises that could easily be broken in the future. One suspects that Sforza's qualms may have had a part in the vagueness of the Italian *quid pro quo*.[18]

The real intentions of the two Italian powers towards their prospective ally are revealed by their secret negotiation of an anti-French alliance with the republic of Genoa at the very time that Acciaioli was travelling to France. Sforza was well aware of Charles VII's long-standing desire to recapture control of this internally divided republic, so vital for Milan's security and as a seaport for land-locked Lombardy.[19] In fact, during the 1440s the king, in coöperation with his restless dauphin, had repeatedly attempted to regain control of the city with the aid of discontented Genoese elements.[20] Yet the two powers could not openly oppose

[17] The text of the instructions is in Desjardins, *op. cit.*, I, 62–71.

[18] The contents of the instructions to Acciaioli were undoubtedly discussed with Nicodemo Tranchedini da Pontremoli, Milan's resident ambassador in Florence. Moreover, Acciaioli was instructed to pass through Milan and discuss the terms of the alliance with the duke. See Rossi, 'La lega', pp. 253–256.

[19] Sforza's policy in respect to Genoa has been surveyed by A. Sorbelli, *Francesco Sforza a Genova (1458–1466). Saggio sulla politica italiana di Luigi XI* (Bologna, 1901), and by P. Sacchi-Orlandini, *Quattro anni di storia genovese (1454–1458) alla luce dei documenti Sforzeschi* (Pavia, 1953).

[20] Beaucourt, *Histoire*, IV, 230 ff.; G. Peyronnet, 'La politica italiana di Luigi Delfino di Francia', *Riv. stor. Italiana* LXIV (1952), 22–24.

Charles' designs while they were requesting his aid. On the other hand, it was known that Doge Pietro Campofregoso of Genoa would have sided ultimately with either of the two Italian coalitions that was able and willing to defend the republic against France.[21] This difficult problem was solved by the conclusion of a five-year mutual defense treaty with the doge including a secret clause binding Florence and Milan to come to the aid of Genoa if attacked by Charles VII or any of his agents.[22]

Acciaioli had been informed of the negotiations with the doge, and he had a plan ready to meet the inevitable French objections. He intended to insert in the proposed treaty a clause prohibiting the contracting parties from concluding alliances with other powers contrary to the terms of their agreement *from the day of its conclusion.* This would have given the Italians a loophole allowing them to contract their alliance with Genoa, up to the day of signature of the triple compact, without contravening its provisions.[23]

The plan almost worked. The king had already agreed on the general lines of the treaty when, late in December 1451, dispatches arrived from francophile circles in Genoa informing Charles of the triple Italian alliance and its secret clause.[24] Acciaioli passed several anxious days attempting to convince the king of the necessity of this move by his prospective allies. His task was made more difficult by the Orleanist faction at court which, incited by Venetian and Neapolitan agents, opposed the alliance because it meant a royal recognition of Sforza as duke of Milan. The news of the Italian triple alliance gave added force to their arguments.[25] But Charles leaned towards the Angevin faction which favored the treaty because it facilitated the future realization of their claims over Naples. Already, during his first talks with Acciaioli, the king had stated that there was no man in the world happier than himself in seeing Sforza in control of Milan, and that it was wrong and unjust for any one to attempt to take from the *condottiere* a state he had so valiantly acquired.[26]

21 Niccolò Arcimboldi, special Milanese envoy in Florence, to Sforza, 27 Oct. 1451, in Rossi, 'La lega', appendix, doc. XIV, 279–281, and 257.

22 The text of the treaty without the secret clause, dated 4 Nov. 1451, is in J. Dumont, *Corps universel diplomatique du droit des gents* . . . . (Amsterdam, 1726–1731), III, pt. I, 188–189. The secret clause is in Rossi, 'La lega', pp. 257–258, and in Beaucourt, *op. cit.*, V, 164–165, n. 4.

23 Acciaioli to Sforza, Tours, 22 Jan. 1452, in Rossi, 'La lega', appendix, XXI, 290.

24 Acciaioli to the *Dieci di Balia* of Florence, Tours, 21 Dec. 1451, *ibid.*, XVIII, 286–288. See also the dispatch cited in the preceding note.

25 Acciaioli to Sforza, Sancto Massante, 18 Nov. 1451, and Tours, 27 Feb. 1452, *ibid.*, XV, 282, and XXIII, 295, respectively.

26 See dispatch of 18 Nov. cited in preceding note.

However, it was not until the envoy had secured the personal intervention of René of Anjou, who came to Tours to use his influence at court, that the alliance was concluded (21 February 1452).[27]

Briefly, the treaty bound Florence and Milan to defend the interests of Charles VII and his family in Italy, and to aid the king, or any member of his family, who wished to undertake an expedition in the Italian peninsula. In return, Charles agreed to defend his allies from any attack. The pope and the emperor were expressly excluded from the provisions of the treaty. The alliance was to be effective from the day of signature to 24 June 1453.[28] The republic of Genoa was not excluded as a possible target of French aggression. Acciaioli was not able to secure its exclusion.[29] This omission naturally angered Campofregoso, who was mollified only by the duke's assurances that he, as well as the republic of Florence, opposed French claims to Genoa or to any other Italian territory.[30]

The Treaty of Tours represented a major diplomatic triumph for Florence and Milan. They had gained at one stroke the recognition of Sforza as duke by the King of France and a formal promise of aid against the Venetians and Alfonso.[31] Only the problem of Genoa remained to be solved, and this was to create difficulties in the future. For the moment, Venice and Naples had been outmaneuvered.

Venice and Naples, for their part, had taken great pains to prevent the alliance of their enemies with Charles VII. The Venetians were in contact with the anti-Sforza opposition in Milan, who were plotting to overthrow the duke with the aid of Venetian troops.[32] Just before Acciaioli's

[27] Rossi, 'La lega', pp. 258 ff. and 266; Beaucourt, *Histoire*, v, 157 ff.; M. A. Lecoy de la Marche, *Le roy René, sa vie, son administration, ses travaux artistiques et littéraires* (Paris, 1875), I, 271.

[28] The exclusion of the pope and the emperor was a customary diplomatic practice as a sign of respect (*honoris causa*). See M. de Maulde-La-Clavière, *La diplomatie au temps de Machiavel* (Paris, 1893), III, 274. The text of the treaty is in Rossi, 'La lega', XXII, 292–295.

[29] Acciaioli to Sforza, Tours, 27 Feb. 1452, in Rossi, 'La lega', XXIII, 295–296.

[30] 'Noi [Sforza] pensamo molto bene, che per quella magnifica communità [Genoa] nè per la Ex. communità de Fiorenza, nè ancora per nuy nè per li nostri figlioli non se fa che Franzosi habiano lo stato de Zenova nè cosa alcuna dal canto de qua per la condictione loro.' Sforza to his envoys in Genoa, Giovanni Feruffini and Sceva da Curte, Milan, 21 Apr. 1452, as quoted by F. Fossati, 'Rapporti tra Milano, Monferrato e Francia nel 1452', *Riv. di storia, arte e archeologia per la provincia di Alessandria* XLIII (1934), 10, n. 5. Cf. Sforza to Doge Pietro Campofregoso, Leno, 1 Oct. 1452, *ibid.*, appendix, doc. 53, 81–82.

[31] In the treaty Sforza is given the title of duke as well as count, but in private correspondence Charles VII addressed him only as count. See the king's letters to the 'Count' on 21 Feb. 1452, in Lecoy de la Marche, *op. cit.*, II, 265; on 18 Dec. 1455 and 16 June 1458, etc. in Beaucourt, *Histoire*, V, docs. 10, 23 respectively.

[32] Rossi, 'La lega', pp. 253–255, and docs. VI–VIII, pp. 274–276.

departure for France, the opposition had presented a memorandum to the duke purporting to reveal French designs to dominate the Italian peninsula. The memorandum charged that Charles VII was planning to capture Genoa and then Lombardy as first steps in his plan to control the entire peninsula. The French monarch, the opposition pointed out, could secure the support of the pope with threats of a church council. He could also count on the aid of his friends in Italy, particularly the Florentines and the Neopolitan barons. After the conquest of Italy, Charles planned to obtain the imperial crown and transfer the papacy itself to Avignon. The French, the memorandum continued, were induced to undertake these conquests by their natural ambition, their desire to employ their armies now that the wars with the English were coming to an end, and their cupidity, which led them to believe that Italy was full of gold. The only way the opposition saw for the salvation of Italy from French domination was the maintenance of peace among the Italian states. This peace was to be based on a general agreement among all the Italian powers guaranteeing them their present possessions.[33]

This memorandum shows that some Italians at least had a clear appreciation of French territorial ambitions in Italy and realized that the approaching end of the Anglo-French conflict would bring an intensification of French activity in the peninsula. Furthermore, it anticipated one of the principal objectives of the Italian League, created three years later —the preservation of peace and of the *status quo* in Italy based on a general agreement of all the Italian powers. At this time, however, it constituted an obvious attempt to play on the well-known French fears of the new ruler, who understood its real purpose and proceeded with the negotiation of the alliance. When Venice and Naples realized that their intrigues at the French court and in Milan had been unable to prevent or break the alliance, they declared war on their adversaries, hoping to defeat them before the arrival of French troops.[34] All the efforts of Pope Nicholas V to preserve peace in the interest of a crusade against the Turks were unsuccessful.[35]

[33] An incomplete text of this memorandum, dated 12 Sept. 1451, is in B. Buser, *Die Beziehungen der Mediceer zur Frankreich während der Jahre 1434–1494* (Leipzig, 1879), appendix, pp. 372–374. Cf. Beaucourt, *Histoire*, V, 163–164; Rossi, 'La lega', p. 254.

[34] The Venetians declared war on 16 May 1452; Alfonso waited until 4 June: F. Fossati, 'Francesco Sforza e la sorpressa del 16 maggio 1452', *Arch stor. lombardo*, ser. VII, LXI, pt. 2 (1934), p. 330; Rossi, 'I prodromi', III, 88.

[35] During 1451, Nicholas had sought to settle by arbitration the issue of the Milanese succession; but his efforts failed to budge the contestants from their rigid positions (A. Colombo, 'Per la difesa di Francesco I Sforza dinanzi al tribunale arbitramentale di Roma', *Boll. stor. piacentino* IV, 1909, 9–25, 72–82, 128–134).

The war proved to be a series of small and inconclusive engagements both in Tuscany and on the eastern border of Lombardy.[36] Cosimo and Sforza hoped that the arrival of French troops would tip the scales in their favor. But a recrudescence of military operations against the English in Guyenne prevented Charles VII from intervening militarily in Italy.[37] He lent diplomatic support to his allies, however, by forcing the Duke of Savoy, a Venetian ally, to abandon his plan to invade Lombardy and by ensuring Swiss neutrality in the Italian conflict.[38] He also attempted, unsuccessfully, to mediate the conflict between Sforza and the Marquis of Monferrato, another ally of Venice. The king backed these diplomatic moves with military pressure by stationing a small body of troops at Lyon, ready to intervene in Italy if the need arose, and by ordering the bailiff Raynaud de Dresnay, royal governor of Asti, to give military support to Sforza against the Marquis of Monferrato.[39]

While these measures relieved somewhat the pressure on the western front in Lombardy, they had a negligible effect in the main war sectors. For this reason, both Sforza and Cosimo desired an immediate French military intervention in the peninsula. To expedite its arrival, they redispatched Acciaioli to France towards the end of September 1452.[40] Acciaioli found the king still occupied with the English in Guyenne and unable to make definite commitments. It took a third mission by the same envoy, who was sent to France again in February 1453, to negotiate a definite agreement for an early French expedition to Italy.[41] On 11 April 1453, Acciaioli concluded a treaty with René of Anjou according to which René promised to come to Italy by the following 15 June, with 2,400 horsemen, to aid Florence and Milan. The Angevin prince

[36] For the opening phases of the war, consult Fossati, 'Francesco Sforza', pp. 330 ff., and 'Rapporti', *passim*; Rossi, 'Prodromi', III (1906), 75 ff.

[37] Beaucourt, *Histoire*, V. chap. IX, and p. 293.

[38] Charles VII to the Republic of Florence, Mehun-sur-Yèvre, 17 July 1452, and to Sforza, Bourges, 31 Aug. 1452, in Desjardins, *op.cit.*, I, 73–76, 77, respectively; Beaucourt, *Histoire*, V, 186–188; B. de Mandrot, 'Étude sur les relations de Charles VII et de Louis XI, rois de France, avec les Cantons suisses, 1444–1483', *Jahrbuch für schweizerische Geschichte* . . . . V (1880), 77 ff.

[39] Beaucourt, *Histoire*, V, 172; Fossati, 'I rapporti', pp. 25 ff.

[40] Acciaioli was accompanied by a colleague, Francesco Ventura. The text of the *Signoria*'s instructions, dated 28 Sept. 1452, is in A. Fabroni, *Magni Cosmi vita* . . . (Pisa, 1788), pp. 200–211.

[41] Beaucourt, *Histoire*, V, 294–295; P. M. Perret, *Histoire des relations de la France avec Venise du XIII^e siècles a l'avenement de Charles VIII* (Paris, 1896), I, 244–247, and his article, 'Le discours d'Angelo Acciauoli au Roy de France (1453)', *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* LIII (1892), 429 ff.

was to assume the supreme command of the Florentine army, and was to be paid a specified sum of money for his services by both allies. The theater of operations was to be decided by a majority vote of the three allies. The treaty contained no specific obligation on the part of Florence and Milan to aid their ally in his much-desired invasion of Naples.[42] In reality, the Angevin prince was coming to Italy as a *condottiere*, who could be outvoted by his allies and dismissed at any time by his employers. It is difficult to understand such naive behavior on the part of a prince with his experience in Italian power politics.

René arrived in Italy during the first days of August 1453 with an advance detachment of his expeditionary force. He had not been able to meet the deadline set in the treaty partly because of the Duke of Savoy's refusal to give access to the Angevin troops. It took the personal intervention of Charles VII and of the dauphin to force Louis of Savoy to change his policy.[43]

The dauphin himself decided to take part in the expedition and seize this opportunity to intervene once more in Italian affairs. Louis' efforts to acquire a large state in Italy for himself and the French crown date at least since 1444 when he and Charles VII commenced their intrigues to reconquer Genoa. From this period onwards, the dauphin constantly sought to establish his influence beyond the Alps, often in direct opposition to his father's wishes and in complete disregard of other French claimants of Italian territory. From his nearby Dauphiné, where he had retired in rebellious mood against his father's authority, Louis never missed an opportunity to intervene in Italian affairs.[44] In 1446 he had concluded a secret alliance with Duke Louis of Savoy according to which the two allies planned to divide Lombardy, Genoa, and Lucca between

[42] In fact, a clause in the treaty gave the Italians the option of breaking their engagement with René subject to giving two months' notice and paying an indemnity of 20,000 florins. René had the same right, but was not required to pay the indemnity. See the text of the treaty, signed at Tours, in Lecoy de la Marche, *op. cit.*, II, 265–269.

[43] E. Colombo, 'Il Re Renato alleato del Duca Francesco Sforza contro i Veneziani, 1453–1454', *Arch. stor. lombardo* XXI, pt. 1 (1894), 86–87; Lecoy de la Marche, *op. cit.*, I, 277; Beaucourt, *Histoire*, V, 298–301.

[44] Relations between the dauphin and his father had steadily deteriorated from his late teens. Restless, eager to rule, resentful of paternal authority, unscrupulous councillors, and mistresses, Louis in 1440 sided with a feudal rising of the great nobles known as the *Praguerie*. In 1451, he married a daughter of the Duke of Savoy against the king's wishes. There followed other acts of insubordination as result of which Louis was deprived of the royal pension. See T. Basin, *Histoire de Charles VII*, ed. and tr. by Ch. Samaran (Paris, 1933–1945), I, 256 ff.; Beaucourt, *Histoire*, V, 143–145, 173 ff.; U. Legeay, *Histoire de Louis XI* (Paris, 1874), I, 171–174; P. Champion, *Louis XI* (Paris, 1927), I, 167–236.

themselves.[45] The crisis of the Milanese succession prevented the implementation of this treaty, but it encouraged Louis to intensify his efforts to reëstablish French influence both at Asti and Genoa. While Charles VII was backing Milan and Florence against Venice, Louis was intriguing with the Venetians and the Duke of Savoy against Sforza. At the same time he attempted to incite the Swiss to break their neutrality and turn against Sforza. Indeed, some of the diplomatic and military moves made by the king on behalf of his Italian allies were designed also to frustrate the ambitious personal policy of his son.[46]

René's expedition gave the dauphin hope that he might successfully prosecute his own Italian ambitions. Around the middle of August he arrived in Piedmont with an army of over 2,000 men. Here he informed René that he had received overtures from certain francophile Genoese, and that he intended to occupy Genoa. He requested René's assistance for the enterprise, promising in return to aid a future Angevin invasion of Naples. But the Angevin prince refused to betray his allies, on whom he was counting for support against his rival, and pressed the dauphin to abandon his designs on Genoa.[47]

Bitter over this checkmate, Louis made secret offers of aid to the Venetians against the Duke of Milan. The Venetian *Signoria* replied that the time was not ripe for such an alliance, but left the door open for a future acceptance.[48] Irritated by this second setback, the dauphin offered his support to Sforza against Venice on condition that he be allowed to capture Genoa and Savona, or at least Savona. Sforza rejected the proposal, citing his recently concluded alliance with Campofregoso. There remained nothing to do for Louis but postpone the realization of his Italian ambitions and return to France.[49]

While the disappointed dauphin was returning to France to nurse his

[45] The text of the treaty, dated Feb. 1446, was published by B. de Mandrot, 'Un projet de partage du Milanais en 1446', *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* XLIV (1883), 184–191.

[46] For the Italian ambitions of the dauphin, see particularly Beaucourt, *Histoire*, IV, 223 ff., V, 167–169, and Peyronnet, 'La politica', pp. 19–44. The latter is the only extensive study of this subject. His biographers have little to say of his Italian policy as dauphin.

[47] Colombo, 'Re Renato', pp. 87–90; Lecoy de la Marche, *op. cit.*, I, 277; Beaucourt, *Histoire*, V, 301; Perret, *Histoire*, I, 252–253.

[48] The text of the Venetian reply, dated 31 Aug. 1453, is in E. Charavay, *Lettres de Louis XI* (Paris, 1888), I, appendix, 243–244. See also Perret, *Histoire*, I, 257–258.

[49] Another reason given by the duke for his refusal was his belief that the Genoese had already decided to give themselves to Charles VII. Sforza hoped that this false revelation might induce Louis to abandon his designs on Genoa. See Acciaioli to Sforza, Sale, 18 Sept. 1453, in Colombo, 'Re Renato', appendix, doc. 15, 122–124, and 90–91; Sforza to Acciaioli, 23 Sept. 1453, in Perret, *Histoire*, II, appendix, 327–328.

wounded pride, René was slowly leading his army of approximately 3,000 men towards the Venetian border. But like Louis, René had little interest in fighting for the benefit of others. Before beginning operations against Venice, he made secret offers to the Venetians to mediate their dispute with Sforza, hoping thereby to settle the conflict quickly and turn against his real objective—the kingdom of Naples. When the Venetians exhibited little interest in his overtures, he declared war on them (10 October 1453).[50] By late November, the allies had captured the whole Cremonese, the Bergamasco, and the Bresciano. Further military operations, however, were interrupted by the coming of the cold season.[51]

By this time, however, there were signs that some belligerents on both sides had begun to tire of the war and had become increasingly concerned over Turkish advances in the Balkans following the fall of Constantinople in May 1453.[52] The Turkish threat also spurred Nicholas V to renew his efforts to promote peace in Italy. In early November, he assembled a congress of representatives of the Italian powers for the purpose of negotiating a settlement of the Milanese succession. But the conflicting appetites of the various rulers protracted the negotiations.[53] Convinced that such a congress would not be likely to succeed, the two principal contenders, Venice and Milan, decided to initiate secret bilateral talks through the medium of an Augustinian friar, Simone da Camerino, a Venetian subject but a private confessor of the ducal family. These negotiations led to the famous Treaty of Lodi (9 April 1454) which marked the end of hegemonic attempts by a large Italian state and became the cornerstone of the Italian diplomatic edifice in the last half of the fifteenth century.[54]

[50] The text of the Venetian reply, dated 5 Oct. 1453, was published by Lecoy de la Marche, *op. cit.*, II, 274, under the erroneous date of 3 Oct. See Perret, *Histoire*, I, 261–262, and Colombo, 'Re Renato', pp. 100 ff. and 360 ff.

[51] Colombo, 'Re Renato', pp. 272–273.

[52] See the following letters: Sforza to Cosimo de' Medici, 27 Apr. 1453; Tranchedini to Sforza, 2 May 1453; Boccaccino and Tranchedini, Milanese envoys in Florence, to Sforza 5 Sept. 1453, all in Buser, *op. cit.*, appendix, pp. 377–384. Cf. Desjardins, *op. cit.*, p. 77.

[53] On the pope's role as a peacemaker, consult L. Pastor, *Storia dei Papi dalla fine del Medio Evo*, new Italian ed. by A. Mercati (Rome, 1942–1944), I, 614, 628–629; E. Carusi, 'La legazione del Cardinale Domenico Capranica ad Alfonso d'Aragona', *Arch. stor. della Soc. romana di stor. patria* XXVIII (1905), 473–481; M. Morpurgo-Castelnuovo, 'Il Cardinale Domenico Capranica', *ibid.*, LII (1929), 56 ff.; C. Canetta, 'Il Congresso di Roma', *Arch. stor. lombardo* IX (1882), 129–135; and L. Pagani, 'L'ambasciata di Francesco Sforza a Niccolò V per la pace con Venezia (1453–54)', *ibid.*, XLVII (1920), 82–96.

[54] These secret negotiations have been revealed by F. Antonino, 'La pace di Lodi e i secreti maneggi che la prepararano', *Arch. stor. lombardo*, ser. VI, LVII (1930), 239 ff. Consult also C. Canetta, 'La pace di Lodi (9 aprile 1454)', *Riv. stor. italiana* II (1885), 516–564.

The principal territorial clauses of the treaty gave Ghiara d'Adda and the Cremonese to Milan and the city of Crema with the Bergamasco and the Bresciano to Venice.[55] It was a treaty of compromise, for neither of the adversaries had gained its full objectives. Venice had failed to dislodge Sforza from Milan and to attain even its minimum objective of securing the river Adda as the boundary between the two states. Sforza, on the other hand, had obtained recognition as duke of Milan ruling over a duchy mutilated by Venetian conquests east of the Adda. The allies of both sides, who, with the exception of Cosimo de' Medici, had been kept ignorant of the peace negotiations, were also dissatisfied, particularly because they were being asked to adhere to the treaty without being allowed to propose any modifications.[56]

One of the most dissatisfied of the allies was René, who had learned too late that he had been duped by his comrades-in-arms. He left Italy for Provence in February 1454, only to face the displeasure of Charles VII, who reproached him for his hasty abandonment of the enterprise.[57] Actually this foreign intervention in Italy followed the pattern of earlier ones. In past centuries, Italian rulers had frequently requested the support of foreign princes, only to hasten their departure after their services were no longer needed. Often the very threat of appeals for foreign aid was used as a factor in the diplomatic struggles in the peninsula. Venice herself, during the secret negotiations attending the Treaty of Lodi, had sought to put pressure on Sforza, and ensure herself against failure of the talks, by making overtures to the dauphin and the dukes of Orleans and Savoy, with whom she proposed to divide the duchy of Milan.[58] It may be seriously questioned whether the politically sophisticated Venetians were really planning to install a French prince in Milan, one who could prove to be a far greater threat to the republic than the insecure Sforza.

[55] The treaty also contained some secret clauses giving Sforza a free hand in the recovery of certain lands, originally forming a part of the duchy of Milan under Filippo Maria, and then held by such allies of Venice as the Duke of Savoy and the lords of Monferrato and of Correggio. The secret clauses are summarized by Canetta, 'La pace', pp. 556–557. The text of the treaty is in Dumont, *op. cit.*, III, pt. 1, 202–206.

[56] Antonino, *op. cit.*, pp. 273 ff.; Canetta, 'La pace', pp. 559 ff.

[57] René attempted to make a graceful retreat by announcing that he planned to send his son John to Italy in the spring to take his place. See Colombo, 'Re Renato', pp. 377 ff.; Lecoy de la Marche, *op. cit.*, I, 283 ff.

[58] These overtures, directed primarily to the dauphin, were made through Francesco Veniero, Venetian ambassador at the court of Louis of Savoy. The texts of the *Signoria*'s instructions to Veniero are in Charavay, *op. cit.*, I, appendix, 244–251. Cf. Buser, *op. cit.*, appendix, pp. 286–287.

Venice was simply thinking in immediate terms allowing her to gain immediate diplomatic advantages, as was the custom of other Italian states. It was a dangerous practice that finally led to the tragedy of 1494 when the French monarchy became ready and willing to play the game to its own advantage.

The creation of the Italian League, which quickly followed the conclusion of the peace of Lodi, gives evidence that some Italian rulers realized, temporarily at least, the dangers to Italian independence posed by their constant appeals to foreign princes. The negotiators of the treaty, Venice and Milan, foresaw that the dissatisfaction of many states with its provisions was likely to lead to schemes of revenge and appeals for foreign intervention. An instrument was needed to settle disputes and protect the *status quo* established by the treaty from internal and external threats of aggression. From these considerations the idea of a twenty-five year general league among the principal Italian powers, with the minor states included as secondary members, was born. The idea originated with the Venetians and was quickly embraced by Sforza. Cosimo de' Medici agreed after some hesitation for fear of adverse repercussions in France, whose Italian ambitions were thus being frustrated. On 30 August 1454, the three states concluded the league and invited other Italian powers to join provided they accepted the provisions of the Treaty of Lodi without any reservations. Alfonso grudgingly accepted the Treaty of Lodi as a prerequisite to his admission to the league, the text of which was amended to gain his adherence. With the formal adherence of Nicholas V, as a principal member and nominal leader, on 25 February 1455, the league included all the five major powers. The admission of practically all the smaller Italian states as minor allies of the principal members soon followed.[59]

The Italian League represented a novel experiment in Italian Renaissance diplomacy in that it discarded the traditional practice of opposing leagues in favor of a grand alliance of all the Italian powers. It expressed two principal objectives—the maintenance of peace in Italy and the preservation of the *status quo* established by the Treaty of Lodi. The third stated objective—the preparation of a crusade against the Turks—was inserted primarily to embellish a diplomatic document with a lofty ideal,

[59] Two most damaging amendments for the future peace of Italy were those giving Alfonso the right to prosecute his claims against Malatesta and the republic of Genoa without interference from the league. See the still fundamental work on the creation of the league, G. Soranzo, *La Lega Italica (1454–55)* (Milan, 1924).

as was shown soon after by the anti-crusading behavior of the secular rulers. To promote these objectives, the league required each member to maintain a fixed military establishment in readiness to repel aggression against any member of the league, and it created a vaguely worded arbitration machinery for the peaceful solution of disputes. In tone and purpose, the league had an anti-foreign character: it sought to exclude foreign interference in the peninsula and to make peninsular affairs an exclusive Italian concern. Since it recognized Francesco Sforza and Alfonso as legitimate rulers of Milan and Naples, it denied by implication the respective Orleans and Angevin claims and became a predominantly anti-French compact. Even the Holy Roman Emperor was treated like any other foreign prince having no rights over any Italian territory, and he was not excluded from the punitive actions of the league against aggressors. A more eloquent denial of the waning imperial power in Italy would be difficult to find.[60]

This is not the place for an analysis of the weaknesses of the league. For our purposes it is important to point out that the league was in no way a supra-state organization, but constituted merely an alliance of sovereign states with all the weaknesses that normally plague such organizations, as we have learned from our experiences with the League of Nations and the United Nations. As long as it did not alleviate the intense economic rivalry among the various states, or set up a supra-state organ charged with the fair allocation of economic resources and markets, it was bound to become corroded by the traditional interstate antagonisms. Moreover, the league was founded upon the shaky foundations of the peace of Lodi, grudgingly accepted by many of its members. With these weaknesses, the league could only operate effectively when the major powers found it to their interest to observe its provisions. Most Italian rulers behaved in this manner throughout the existence of the league.[61]

The traditional interstate competition, always present during the negotiations for the creation of the league, reasserted itself immediately

[60] Consult the text of the league in A. Theiner, *Codex diplomaticus domini temporalis S. Sedis* (Rome, 1861–1862), III, 380–386.

[61] To date there is no monograph dealing with the entire period of the league, generally taken to span the forty years 1454–1494. In the meantime, we must rely on two articles: R. Cessi, 'La "lega italica" e la sua funzione storica nella seconda metà del sec. XV', *Atti del R. Istituto veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti* CII, pt. 2 (1943), 99–176; G. Nebbia, 'La Lega Italica del 1455; sue vicende e sua rinnovazione nel 1470', *Arch. stor. lombardo*, New Ser., IV (1939), 115–135.

after its organization. In its first three years of existence, the league had to contend with the aggressive activity of two rulers—King Alfonso of Naples, and his former official, Alfonso Borgia, who became Pope Calixtus III in 1455. King Alfonso, still smarting over his recent diplomatic setbacks and still eager to attain hegemony in Italy, kept the peninsula in turmoil with his support of the aggressive moves of a famous *condottiere*, Jacopo Piccinino, against the Papal States and the republic of Siena. He saved Piccinino from complete annihilation by the forces of the league, and then employed him against his enemy, Sigismondo Pandolfo Malatesta, in the states of the church.[62] At the same time, he launched naval attacks against his other enemy, the republic of Genoa.[63]

Alfonso's bellicose activity weakened the newly born league. At the same time, it impeded the crusading efforts and the nepotistic designs of Calixtus III, who began to harbor an implacable hatred towards his former friend and sovereign. Towards the end of his brief three-year pontificate, this old but energetic pontiff became increasingly involved in his feud with Alfonso and in his efforts to enrich his family, to the point of losing sight of his crusading ideals. When Alfonso died in June 1458, Calixtus declared that the kingdom of Naples reverted to the church for lack of legitimate heirs, refusing to recognize the king's illegitimate son, Ferrante, whose succession had been explicitly accepted in the instrument of the Italian League.[64] The pope wished to install one of his favor-

[62] On the activity of Piccinino, consult I. Fumi, 'Francesco Sforza contro Jacopo Piccinino (Dalla Pace di Lodi alla morte di Callisto)', *Boll. della R. Deputazione di stor. patria per l'Umbria* XVI (1910), 507–601; L. Banchi, 'Il Piccinino nello Stato di Siena e la lega italiana (1455–56)', *Arch. stor. italiano*, ser. IV, IV (1879), 44–58, 224–245; G. Soranzo, *Pio II e la politica italiana nella lotta contro i Malatesti, 1457–63* (Padua, 1911), pp. 44 ff.

[63] The rivalry between Alfonso and the republic of Genoa was actually a continuation of the long-standing Aragonese-Genoese struggle for naval supremacy in the western Mediterranean, and for control of the island of Corsica then held by Genoa. The republic had learned to rely on French aid against Alfonso, and in the war of the Milanese succession she had joined Alfonso's enemies. The king sought to weaken the city by interfering in its traditional internal feuds. His principal enemies were the Campofregosi, against whom he supported the Fieschi, the Adorno, and other families contending for the rule of the republic. See Sacchi Orlandini, *op. cit.*, pp. 3–12 and 34–35; M. G. Ganale, *Nuova istoria della Republica di Genova . . . dalle origini all'anno 1797* (Florence, 1864), IV, 167–220, and I. Schiappoli, 'La marina degli aragonesi di Napoli', *Arch. stor. per le provincie napoletane*, New Ser., XXIX (1943), 18 ff.

[64] Papal investiture of the king of the Two Sicilies (this title designated the union of Sicily and Naples) had taken place for several centuries. The church based her claims of suzerainty over the kingdom on the Donations of Constantine and Charlemagne, and on other documents and customs (F. Scaduto, *Stato e Chiesa nelle Due Sicilie dai Normanni ai giorni nostri* (XI–XIX), Palermo, 1887, pp. 58–78.

ite nephews, Pier Luigi Borgia, as king of Naples. His own death, only forty days after the decease of his adversary, prevented him from implementing this ambitious policy. Had these two Catalans, as the Aragonese were known in Italy, been able to reach an understanding, it is possible to speculate that Spanish domination of Italy would have been achieved a century earlier.[65] So strange did this conflict between two men with so many past ties of friendship seem to contemporaries that Cosimo de' Medici believed this rivalry to be a camouflage for a Catalan conspiracy to dominate the entire peninsula.[66]

The political instability of these three years also served to encourage French aspirations in Italy. For the two rulers most threatened by Alfonso's aggressive moves, Malatesta and Doge Pietro Campofregoso of Genoa, followed the traditional expedient of appealing for French aid.[67] Such appeals were foreseen and feared by the ever-vigilant Duke of Milan, who immediately realized the danger of another French intervention for the security of all the Italian states. Accordingly, Sforza assumed the role of champion of the league to make it fully operative for the preservation of peace in Italy and for the formation of a united front against the French.

Here it is possible to give only a brief summary of Sforza's diplomatic activity in the three-year period. Realizing the value of a closer entente between two states that had most to fear from French aspirations, the duke contracted a double marriage alliance with King Alfonso. In 1455 promises of marriage were exchanged between a nephew (Alfonso) and a niece (Eleonor) of the king with a son (Maria) and a daughter (Ippolita) of the duke.[68] This was the beginning of the Milan-Naples axis that was later to be shattered by Sforza's own son, the ambitious Ludovico il Moro. Taking advantage of the closer ties, Sforza repeatedly warned Alfonso of the French threat which could become a reality unless his ally moderated his aggressiveness against Calixtus III, Malatesta, and Doge

[65] For the struggle between Alfonso and Calixtus, and the latter's nepotism, see Pastor, *Storia*, I, 729 ff.

[66] Tranchedini to Sforza, 4 Apr. 1458, quoted by F. T. Perrens, *Histoire de Florence depuis la domination des Medicis jusqu'à la chute de la Republique (1434–1531)* (Paris, 1888), I, 196, n. 2. Cf. Pius II, *Commentaries*, tr. F. A. Gragg, *Smith College Studies in History* XXXV (1939–1940), Book II, 121.

[67] Sacchi Orlandini, *op. cit.*, pp. 45 ff.; Beaucourt, *Histoire*, VI, 234 ff.; Soranzo, *Pio II*, pp. 41–42, 48.

[68] C. Canetta, 'Le sponsalie di Casa Sforza con Casa d'Aragona (giugno-ottobre 1455)', *Arch. stor. lombardo* IX (1882), 136–144.

Campofregoso of Genoa. Milanese agents were busy everywhere in the peninsula seeking to mediate these disputes and working for the speedy realization of the royal objectives so as to put an end to diplomatic crises.[69] Another Milanese agent was sent to France several times during 1456 and 1457 to report on the progress of Italian appeals to the French court and on French preparations to intervene in the Italian peninsula.[70] But Alfonso discounted the seriousness of the French threat and stubbornly refused to moderate his appetites.[71] Consequently, Sforza's worst fears were realized on 7 February 1458, when Campofregoso sought French protection by transferring the sovereignty of the republic to Charles VII. On 11 May, John of Anjou, son of René and lieutenant-general of the French king, took possession of Genoa, eager to use the seaport for his long-projected invasion of the southern kingdom.[72]

The duke had also been active in Venice and Florence, seeking their coöperation in avoiding a French intervention. Venice, mistrusting Sforza's motives, refused to coöperate. The Venetians were not willing to impair their friendly relations with France, preferring to see Genoa under French domination rather than allow either Alfonso or Sforza to control this valuable seaport and the Genoese fleet.[73] Such was the response of one of the founders of the Italian League!

Cosimo de' Medici's response was even more discouraging. The Florentines felt that they had more to fear from the bellicose Alfonso, whose aggressive intentions in Tuscany were well known, than from a French occupation of Genoa and Naples. Friendly French rulers in these two states simply meant more trade concessions for Florentine merchants. In May 1458, after the French occupation of Genoa, Cosimo expected that the French would manage to secure the election of a francophile pope and would invade the kingdom of Naples. He forecast that they would easily succeed if Sforza offered no opposition. Under these circumstances, he advised his friend to contract an alliance with Charles VII in order to

[69] A detailed account of Sforza's diplomatic activity is in my dissertation, pp. 138–162.

[70] The agent was Tommaso Tibaldo of Bologna. See one of his reports to Sforza, dated 7 Dec. 1456, in Charavay, *op. cit.*, I, appendix, 266–267.

[71] Alfonso regarded the French as 'men of words and howls and not of deeds' (Antonio da Trezzo, Milanese ambassador in Naples, to Sforza, 7 Apr. 1456, quoted by Buser, *op. cit.*, pp. 85 and 399).

[72] The text of the treaty between Campofregoso and Charles VII is in Dumont, *op cit.*, III, pt. 1, 245 ff. See also Sorbelli, *op. cit.*, pp. 17–19; Sacchi Orlandini, *op. cit.*, pp. 60–63; Beaucourt, *Histoire*, VI, 238–239.

[73] Perret, *Histoire*, I, 283 ff.

'remain Duke and become the guide of the French in Italy' rather than their servant.[74] It was only after constant Milanese pressure, and after the death of Alfonso, that Cosimo gradually began to accept the anti-French objectives of Sforza's foreign policy. But the Florentine statesman remained francophile up to the end of his life, though he found it more expedient to coöperate with Milan.

One major event in 1458 confuted Cosimo's gloomy forecast—the election of Enea Silvio Piccolomini to the papacy as Pius II. The importance of this papal election for the success of Sforza's anti-French foreign policy cannot be overemphasized. In fact, Italy narrowly missed having a French pope, as Cosimo had prognosticated, according to an unique account of this fateful conclave written by the successful candidate himself. The conclave began on 16 August 1458 with eighteen cardinals participating, eight of whom were Italians.[75] It soon became clear that the Cardinal of Rouen, William of Estoutville, had almost marshaled the necessary two-thirds majority for his election. Immediately Piccolomini began to campaign for his own election by appealing for unity among the Italian cardinals. He initiated his campaign by addressing the Cardinal of Pavia, Giovanni da Castiglione, who had already decided to vote for Estoutville. Excerpts from his address follow.

I thought you a different man from what I find you. Only see how much you have degenerated from your ancestors! Your father's brother (or was he your mother's), Branda, Cardinal of Piacenza, when the papacy was beyond the mountains in Germany (for John XXIII, when he appointed the Council of Constance, had carried the Roman Curia across the Alps) never rested till he brought the Holy See back to Italy. It was owing to his diplomacy, devotion, and genius that on the withdrawal of the contestants for the papacy, Martin V, a Roman of the House of Colonna, was elected pope.

[74] Tranchedini to Sforza, 24 May 1458, in Sorbelli, *op. cit.*, appendix, doc. I.

[75] The most important contemporary source for this papal election is Book I of Pius II's *Commentarii rerum memorabilium, quae temporibus suis continerunt* . . . . (Rome, 1584). However, important and extensive portions of the election account were deleted from this and other editions. The complete work remains unedited in the original Latin MS., Reginensis 1995 of the Vatican Library. Recently, Professor F. A. Gragg has completed an English translation of this manuscript which constitutes the only complete printed version of the *Commentarii*, and it has been used here. The translation appeared in *Smith College Studies in History* as follows: Book I, vol. XXII (1936–1937); Books II–III, XXV (1939–1940); Books IV–V, XXX (1947); Books VI–IX, XXXV (1951); Books X–XIII, XLIII (1957). Other contemporary accounts are contained in the dispatches of the various ambassadors and agents residing at the papal court, particularly those of the Milanese ambassador, Ottone de Carretto. Many of them are cited and summarized in my dissertation, pp. 183 ff. Important modern treatments of the election are given by G. Voigt, *Enea Silvio de' Piccolomini, als Papst Pius der Zweite, und sein Zeitalter* (Berlin, 1863), III, chap. I; G. Paparelli, *Enea Silvio Piccolomini (Pius II)* (Bari, 1950), chap. IX; and Pastor, *Storia*, II, 5 ff.

Branda brought the Apostolic Curia back from Germany to Italy; you, his nephew, are going to transfer it from Italy to France. But Rouen will prefer his own nation to Italy and a Frenchman will be off to France with the supreme office. . . . And what is our Italy without the Bishop of Rome? We still have the Apostleship though we have lost the Imperium, and in this one light we see light. Shall we be deprived of this with your sympathy, persuasion, help? A French pope will either go to France—and then our dear country is bereft of its splendor; or he will stay among us—and Italy, the queen of nations, will serve a foreign master, while we shall be the slaves of the French. The kingdom of Sicily will come into the hands of the French. The French will possess all the cities and strongholds of the Church. You might have taken warning from Calixtus, during whose papacy there was nothing the Catalans did not get. After trying the Catalans are you so eager to try the French? You will soon be sorry if you do! You will see the college filled with Frenchmen and the papacy will never again be wrested from them. Are you so dull that you do not realize that this will lay a yoke upon your nation forever? . . . What has become of your love for your country and your continual protestations that you preferred Italy above all other nations? I used to think that if everyone else fell away from devotion to her, you never would. You have failed me; nay, more, you have failed yourself and Italy, your country, unless you come to your senses.

'. . . You now have to choose whether you prefer to betray Italy, your country, and the Church or the Bishop of Rouen.' Convinced by these arguments Pavia decided it was less shameful to fail Rouen.[76]

In the meantime, Piccolomini had gained the powerful support of Cardinal Pietro Barbo, who also craved the throne of St. Peter but had lost all hope of securing the necessary votes. Barbo then decided to work for the election of an Italian cardinal rather than allow the papal tiara to fall on a Frenchman. The Piccolomini account continues as follows.

When Pietro, Cardinal of San Marco, learned of the conspiracy of the French and had lost hope of getting the papacy himself, actuated alike by patriotism and hatred of Rouen he began to go to the Italian cardinals urging and warning them not to abandon their country; and he did not rest till he had gathered all the Italians except Colonna in the cell of the Cardinal of Genoa, revealed the conspiracy that had been made in the privies, and showed them that the Church would be ruined and Italy a slave forever, if Rouen should obtain the papacy. He implored them individually to show themselves men, to consult for the good of Mother Church and unhappy Italy, to put aside their enmities for one another and choose an Italian rather than a foreigner for pope. If they listened to him, they would prefer Aeneas to all others.[77]

We need not place complete reliance on this version of the conclave, written years after the event, by a man widely known for his vanity and addiction to self-praise.[78] It is unlikely that the Italian cardinals were greatly influenced by Italian patriotism at a time when local and regional

[76] *Commentaries*, Book I, 98–100.

[77] *Ibid.*, Book I, 100.

[78] It has been established that Pius compiled his *Commentaries* between 1462 and 1463. See G. Bernetti, 'Ricerche e problemi sui Commentarii di Enea Silvio Piccolomini', *La Rinascita* II (1939), 450–451.

loyalties prevailed. It is more likely that the widespread anti-Catalan reaction engendered in Italy by the bellicose activity of King Alfonso, and by the nepotism of Calixtus, made the Italian cardinals wary of another foreign pope.[79] The yet not remote experience of the Avignonese residence of the papacy, cleverly alluded to by Piccolomini, would have made them fearful of their own future security. The extensive French claims in Italy, combined with the threat of a French dominated papacy, would have given second thoughts to the more responsible members of the Sacred College. Piccolomini cleverly played on these fears, clothing his appeals with lofty ideals of disinterested Italian patriotism. However, the foregoing qualifications are not to be taken as a denial of the new pope's concern for Italian independence from French encroachments often expressed in his *Commentaries* and revealed in his foreign policy. There is no doubt that Pius II considered himself an Italian patriot, providentially placed on the throne of St. Peter to save Italy from French domination. One need only to reflect on the consequences of the election of a French pope at this crucial time to appreciate the significance of Pius' election for the independence of the Italian peninsula.

Sforza and Ferrante, who had worked indefatigably for Pius' election, soon were rewarded for their efforts by the friendly attitude of the new pope.[80] In October 1458, Pius agreed to invest Ferrante with the kingdom of Naples.[81] In the following year, during the Congress of Mantua, Pius and Sforza reached a secret agreement to share equally the burden of defending Ferrante against the then imminent Angevin invasion of the kingdom.[82]

[79] While Calixtus lay on his deathbed, violent disorders erupted in Rome and in other areas of the Papal States during which many Catalans lost their lives at the hands of infuriated Italian mobs. Contemporary accounts of these demonstrations can be found in the dispatches of ambassadors at the Holy See, some of which have been published by Pastor, *Storia*, I, appendix, docs. 86–87, and in his *Ungedruckte Akten zur Geschichte der Papste vornehmlich im XV, XVI, und XVII Jahrhundert* (Freiburg, 1904), I, docs. 58–59, 61–62, 64. See also Niccola della Tuccia, *Cronaca di Viterbo, Cronache e statuti della città di Viterbo*, ed. I. Ciampi (Florence, 1872), p. 256.

[80] For the efforts of the Milanese and Neapolitan envoys to influence the cardinals before the opening of the conclave, consult the following dispatches from Rome: Ottone de Carretto to Sforza, 26 July and 20 Aug. 1458, Galeotto Agnesi to Sforza, 15 Aug. 1458, all in Pastor, *Ungedruckte Akten*, pp. 78–80, 91–95, 88–89, respectively; Sforza to Ottone, Milan, 5 Aug. 1458, and Ottone to Sforza, Rome, 12 Aug. 1458, both in Morpurgo-Castelnuovo, *op. cit.*, appendix, pp. 135–136; Ottone to Sforza, Rome, 14 Aug. 1458, in Pastor, *Storia*, II, appendix, doc. 1, 679–680.

[81] The text of the agreement is in J. C. Lunig, *Codex Italiae diplomaticus* . . . . (Francofurti et Lipsiae, 1725–1735), II, cols. 1257–1258.

[82] The Duke of Milan came to Mantua on 17 Sept. 1459 and remained until 3 Oct.

The duke's anti-French diplomatic activity, as well as his secret intrigues against John of Anjou in Genoa, earned him the enmity of the Angevins and Charles VII. Sforza had endeavored to keep his anti-French efforts secret, fearing to provoke Charles while his relations with the emperor were strained by the question of recognition. But it is obvious that such widespread activity could not remain secret for long. In fact, the French were well aware of his true intentions, and Charles VII had repeatedly requested him to cease his hostile behavior. The duke always replied with protestations of innocence, declarations of neutrality in respect to Genoa, and assurances of devotion towards the French monarchy.[83]

In the second half of 1458 and in 1459, when the French made several determined diplomatic efforts to isolate Ferrante, Sforza was one of their primary targets. In 1458, the duke received two Angevin embassies and one sent by Charles VII requesting him to break his marriage alliance with Ferrante and embrace the Angevin cause. Sforza refused to break his solemn engagement negotiated with the late King Alfonso, and cited the terms of the Italian League binding him to defend Ferrante against aggression.[84] French envoys also passed through Florence, Rome, and later Venice on similar missions. In Florence, the *Signoria* declared its neutrality in the event of an Angevin-Neapolitan war, mindful both of

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(Pastor, *Storia*, II, 56 ff.). Little is known about his private talks with Pius. In a letter to his wife from Mantua, on 1 Oct. 1459, Sforza wrote that he had spoken to the pope about 'cose private e particolare', but he gives no details (*ibid.*, II, appendix, 693). Pius himself fails to throw light on this matter in his *Commentaries*. Sforza's secretary and biographer, G. Simonetta, in his *Rerum gestarum Francisci Sfortiae commentarii*, ed. G. Soranzo, in L. A. Muratori, *Rerum italicarum scriptores*, new ed. XXVI, pt. 2, 417, claims that an agreement to support Ferrante was reached at Mantua. This is confirmed in a letter written by Sforza to his ambassador in Rome, Ottone de Carretto, almost a year later, on 6 Sept. 1460, in which the duke recalled that he and Pius had personally agreed at Mantua to assume an equal share of the burden for the defense of Ferrante against John of Anjou. The letter is summarized by L. Fumi, 'Roberto Sanseverino all'impresa di Napoli per Ferdinando I', *Arch. stor. lombardo* XVII (1912), 344–345. Modern scholars, such as E. Rubieri, *Francesco Primo Sforza* (Florence, 1879), II, 354, C. Assum, *Francesco Sforza* (Turin, 1945), pp. 441–442, Voigt, *op. cit.*, III, 65, and Pastor, *Storia*, II, 56–57, agree with Simonetta.

[83] See Charles VII's letters to Sforza, 16 June 1458 and 31 Jan. 1459 in Beaucourt, *Histoire*, VI, appendix, docs. 23, 25 respectively, and pp. 232–233 for the duke's replies.

[84] In June 1458, John of Anjou sent Daniele Arrighi, an exiled Neapolitan baron, to Milan from his headquarters in Genoa. He was followed in September by two envoys of René, Nicolas de Brancas, bishop of Marseille, and Giovanni Cossa, another exiled Neapolitan baron (Count of Troia). Also in September, the duke received a royal ambassador, John d'Amancier. For these embassies, see Simonetta, *Rerum*, Book XXVI, 417; E. Nunziante, 'I primi anni di Ferdinando d'Aragona e l'invasione di Giovanni d'Angiò', *Arch. stor. per le provincie napoletane* XVII (1892), 755–759; and Beaucourt, *Histoire*, VI, 242.

its obligations under the league and its traditional bonds of friendship with the French crown.[85] In Rome, where the envoys requested Pius II to invest René of Anjou with the kingdom of Naples, the pope declined to do so, but announced that he had taken care to reserve the rights of other claimants in his bull investing Ferrante.[86] In Venice, the Venetians politely rejected a proposal for a Franco-Venetian alliance and declared their neutrality, refraining even from mentioning the Italian League.[87]

In the fall of 1459, Charles VII launched another diplomatic offensive in the Italian peninsula designed to support the Angevin invasion of Naples which began in October. Venice received a royal embassy and an Angevin mission in October. Once again the *Signoria* declined to conclude a Franco-Venetian alliance and reaffirmed its neutrality, pointing out that at the moment the republic was chiefly concerned with the Turkish advances in the east and with the Congress of Mantua, which was then meeting to consider the organization of a crusade against the infidels.[88] This remained the position of Venice throughout the first important crisis facing the league. The republic had made peace in 1454 in order to concentrate her attention on the Turkish menace, reducing thereby her interest in Italian affairs. Sforza's repeated efforts had been able only to sway a small number of Venetian senators who comprehended the seriousness of the French threat. A majority of the senators

[85] The Bishop of Marseille and Cossa proceeded to Florence, where they arrived in October 1458. They had been preceded by several days by a royal envoy, Miles d'Illiers, sent to Florence on a similar mission. The speeches of the envoys, and the *Signoria*'s responses through the *Gonfaloniere*, Ottone Nicolini, are in Desjardins, *op. cit.*, I, 82–96.

[86] The Bishop of Marseille and Miles d'Illiers arrived in Rome in late October or early November. Pius' response is contained in a bull dated 27 Nov. 1458, that is, seventeen days after he had issued another bull investing Ferrante with the kingdom of Naples. The first bull is in Lecoy de la Marche, *op. cit.*, II, doc. 44. The investiture bull was published by Lunig, *op. cit.*, II, cols. 1262–1278. Cf. Pius II, *Commentaries*, Book II, 124.

[87] Charles VII's ambassador, John d'Amancier, arrived in Venice during the second half of March 1459. The envoy's proposals are summarized in the response of the Venetian Senate, dated 27 March, which was published by Perret, *Histoire*, II, doc. 11.

[88] In October 1459, the Venetian *Signoria* received two ambassadors from Charles VII—John de Chambes and George Havart—and the Bishop of Marseille, Nicolas de Brancas, from René of Anjou. The responses of the Venetian Senate to the royal envoys are in P. M. Perret, 'L'ambassade de Jean de Chambes à Venise (1459) d'après des documents vénitiens', *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* L (1889), 561–566. Cf. the 'Relation de Jean de Chambes envoyé du Roy Charles VII auprés de la seigneurie de Venise (1459)', ed. M. E. de Stadler, *ibid.*, III (1841–1842), 183–196. The text of the Venetian reply to the Bishop of Marseille was published by Perret, *Histoire*, II, doc. XII. In May 1460, the republic also received an envoy, Antonio Gattola, sent by John of Anjou. In the following month, a certain Marino arrived as an agent of René. See *ibid.*, I, 340–343.

felt that Charles VII's involvement with the English and his preoccupation with his resentful nobility and rebellious dauphin precluded any large-scale royal intervention in the peninsula.[89]

On leaving Venice, the royal envoys joined a French delegation on its way to Mantua to represent Charles VII and other French princes at the congress of all Christian powers called by Pius II to consider measures for an early crusade against the Turks. The king had purposely delayed sending his representatives to the congress, which had opened on 26 September almost three months later than its scheduled opening on 1 June, in order to demonstrate his displeasure with the papal pro-Ferrante policy.[90] It was obvious that the king intended to link his eventual support of a crusade with the Neapolitan question. His envoys quickly demanded the revocation of Ferrante's investiture in favor of René of Anjou. The pope, who two months earlier had secretly agreed with Sforza to back Ferrante, again rejected the request, pointing out that Ferrante's succession had been explicitly sanctioned in the instrument of the Italian League solemnly approved by his predecessors and himself. Such a revocation might involve the Holy See in a general war at the very moment when Christendom itself was threatened by the Turkish advances. He regretted that, while the congress was in session, René had decided to impose a decision by force of arms, disregarding normal juridical procedures. He urged the French monarch to follow the crusading tradition of his ancestors and show his own Christian zeal by repealing the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges which was promoting disunity in Christendom.[91]

[89] See Perret, *Histoire*, I, 333 ff.

[90] Beaucourt, *Histoire*, VI, 250–251. On the Congress of Mantua, consult Pius II, *Commentaries*, Books II–III, *passim*; Pastor, *Storia*, II, 37 ff.; G. B. Picotti, *La dieta di Mantova e la politica de' Veneziani* (Venice, 1912); and C. J. Hefele and H. Leclercq, *Histoire des Conciles d'après les documents originaux. . . .* (Paris, 1907), VII, pt. 2, 1287–1315.

[91] The French envoys arrived in Mantua on 16 Nov. 1459. The royal delegation included Jean Bernard, William Cousinot, Thomas de Courcelles, William Chartier, Miles d'Illiers, and the secretary, Nicolas Petit. They were joined by Chambes and Havart. Nicolas de Brancas represented René of Anjou. In addition, there were envoys representing the dukes of Brittany and Orleans and a Genoese envoy, Gottardo Stella, who sided with his French masters. The French proposals are summarized in a dispatch of Ottone de Carretto to Sforza, 1 Dec. 1459, in Pastor, *Storia*, II, appendix, 694–696. Pius' principal reply took the form of a long public oration, the text of which is in L. d'Achery, *Spicilegium sive collectio veterum aliquot scriptorum qui in Galliae bibliothecis delituerant. . . .*, new ed. (Paris, 1723), III, 811–820, and in G. D. Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, rev. ed. by J. B. Martin and L. Petit (Paris, 1901–1924), XXXII, cols. 230–251. Cf. letter by Nicolas Petit to William Jouvenel Orsini, Chancellor of France, Man-

While French pressure had been unable to shake Venetian neutrality and the anti-French policy of Pius II, it achieved a short-lived success in strongly francophile Florence. Here the francophile party had gained a revocation of the position of neutrality adopted a year earlier. The *Signoria* had decided to accept a request by John of Anjou for a yearly credit of 80,000 gold florins to finance his struggle against Ferrante. Cordiality between the republic and the Angevin prince had reached such a point that when John stopped at Porto Pisano (10 October 1459) on his way to invade Naples, the *Signoria* sent him envoys to wish him well and present him with rich gifts.[92] Cosimo himself urged Sforza to end his efforts to 'resuscitate a dead man' (Ferrante) and to join the stronger side, offering to mediate a Franco-Milanese rapprochement. Sforza once again rejected this policy because of its long-range consequences for the independence of the peninsula and urged Cosimo himself to do all in his power to have the *Signoria* withdraw its subsidy from John of Anjou.[93]

Similar pressure was brought to bear on Cosimo by Pius II, passing through Florence on his return from Mantua. Pius recorded in his *Commentaries* that Cosimo

> came to him [Pius II] late at night and in the course of their conversation expressed surprise that he [Pius] was committed to a war with the French for the sake of Ferrante. The Pope replied that it was intolerable that a king whom he had himself confirmed should be ejected by force of arms; nor would this make for the freedom of Italy; if the French should once get possession of Ferrante's kingdom, they would undoubtedly proceed to subdue Siena; the Florentines, being French in their sympathies, would not raise a finger against 'the lilies'; Borso, Duke of Modena, appeared to be more French than the French themselves; the princelings of Romagna inclined toward the French; Genoa was already subject to them and so was the state of Asti; if the Pope should come to be their friend, there was nothing in Italy that would not go over to them. In protecting Ferrante he was protecting Italy and his honor demanded this course in accordance with the treaties that had originally been made with Alfonso. He could not break his word as could the Florentines and Venetians, who suited their compacts to expediency.

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tua, 21 Nov. 1459, in D'Achery, *op. cit.*, III, 806–807; Pius II, *Commentaries*, Book III, 260 ff.; 'Relation de l'ambassade envoyée par Charles VII a Mantoue (Octobre-Novembre, 1459)', ed. G. du Fresne de Beaucourt in *Annuaire-Bulletin de la Societé de l'Histoire de France* II (1864), 167–177, and his *Histoire*, VI, 253 ff.; Pastor, *Storia*, II, 66 ff.; Picotti, *La dieta*, pp. 257 ff.

[92] Simonetta, *Rerum*, Book XXVI, 428; Nunziante, *op. cit.*, XX (1895), 222; Perrens, *op. cit.*, I, 204.

[93] Sforza's remarkable answer, emphasizing the danger to Italian independence, should the French be allowed to recapture Naples, is included in Simonetta, *Rerum*, Book XXVI, 428–429, who claims to have written it himself under the duke's dictation.

Cosimo applauded the Pope's spirit and admitted he was right, but he declared that the populace would act honorably only when forced by self-interest or fear.[94]

The foregoing account illustrates the similarity of views in regard to the French threat held by the pope and the duke. Cosimo, still a francophile at heart, finally 'admitted' the wisdom of the Milanese foreign policy and 'applauded' the spirit of the pope, blaming the 'populace' for his own vacillations. Nevertheless, Cosimo heeded the pleadings of his allies and pressed the *Signoria* to revoke the subsidy.[95] Consequently, when in the following year two other French embassies visited Florence to present the Angevin case once more, the republic reasserted its previous stand of neutrality, but it continued to grant secret subsidies to Milan.[96]

The scrupulous neutrality of Venice and the quasi-neutrality of Florence can be considered as unqualified defeats for the Italian League in dealing with its first *casus belli*. The French had been successful in breaking the unity of the league by forcing the Venetians and the Florentines to disregard its provisions, but they had failed to win any major ally in Italy. The pope and the Duke of Milan chose to honor their obligations and render diplomatic as well as military support to their ally. But the aggressive activity of Malatesta and Piccinino, both of whom joined the Angevin cause, kept the troops of the two rulers occupied in the Papal States. In the spring of 1460, Piccinino invaded the kingdom of Naples through the Abruzzi and dealt a severe check to an allied army, led by Alessandro Sforza and Federico of Urbino, at San Fabiano (22 July 1460).[97] In the meantime, the position of Ferrante had greatly deterio-

[94] Pius was in Florence towards the end of January 1460 (*Commentaries*, Book IV, 300).

[95] See Simonetta, *Rerum*, XXVI, 429. K. S. Gutkind, *Cosimo de' Medici, Pater Patriae, 1389–1464* (Oxford, 1938), p. 168, n. 1, claims that Cosimo had opposed the subsidy to John of Anjou from the beginning, and that he had reached a position of neutrality independently of the intervention of Sforza and the pope. This view is not tenable. Cosimo's pro-French stand had been consistent at least from the creation of the league, as we have seen from his correspondence with Sforza. Moreover, we have the testimony of Simonetta and Pius II, two well-informed contemporary figures. Cf. also Nunziante, *loc. cit.*, XX, 323; Sorbelli, *op. cit.*, pp. 28–29; Perrens, *op. cit.*, I, 337.

[96] An ambassador of Charles VII arrived in Florence in March 1460, while envoys of René visited the city in the following June. The proposals of the envoys and the replies of the *Signoria* are in Desjardins, *op. cit.*, pp. 96–100. The documents do not reveal the names of the ambassadors, but it can be assumed that they were members of the French delegation that had taken part in the Congress of Mantua. Evidence of continual Florentine secret subsidies to Sforza can be found in two dispatches of Tranchedini to the duke, Florence, 16 and 18 Mar. 1462, in Buser, *op. cit.*, appendix, 412–413.

[97] For the pro-Angevin activity of Malatesta and Piccinino, see Soranzo, *Pio II*, pp. 88–208, and Nunziante, *Arch. stor. napol.* XIX (1894), 595–658; XX (1895), 456 ff.

rated since the landing of his rival at Castellamare del Volturno in November 1459. The Angevin forces were constantly growing through the defection of many Neapolitan barons led by the powerful prince of Taranto, Giovanni Antonio Orsini. By the beginning of the summer of 1460, Ferrante's effective power had been reduced to the capital and its environs. On 7 July 1460, the king was disastrously defeated at Sarno, south of Naples. The royal army disintegrated, and Ferrante barely escaped capture by taking refuge behind the walls of the capital. Indeed, Ferrante seemed a man 'half dead', as Cosimo de' Medici had prognosticated.[98]

The military successes in the south encouraged the French to renew their diplomatic pressure in the peninsula and assume a more threatening attitude towards their principal enemies—Pius II and Sforza. In the spring and summer of 1460, René and John of Anjou sent embassies to the Pope threatening him with rebellion in Avignon and appeals to a church council unless he abandoned Ferrante and supported the Angevin cause.[99] Pius, who at the time was sojourning in his beloved Siena, recounts that

> When the news of Ferrante's defeat at Sarno was received at Siena, the French, of whom there were many in the Curia, cheered, danced about the city, lighted bonfires, abused the Catalans, jeered at the Aragonese, insulted even the Pope's household, taunted the Lombards and Florentines, and struck with their fists or swords any who they thought did not sufficiently applaude their madness. They gouged out the eye of a Burgundian and killed a citizen of Siena who showed some slight disapproval of their clamor.[100]

Such behavior made the pope explode in one of his characteristic anti-French outbursts and display once more his love for Italy. He relates in his *Commentaries* that he

> endured all this calmly, saying to himself, 'How would they treat us in their country, should we come to them, when in our country they insult us so shamelessly? Behold, O Italian race! will you be able to endure as masters these men who are so insolent as servants? They are servants in the Roman Curia and they put on the countenance of a ruler. What would they do if they should some day secure the papacy or come to rule

[98] An eyewitness account of the Neapolitan war was written by the humanist Giovanni Pontano, then a minor official at the court of Ferrante, in his *De bello neapolitano*, in *Raccolta di tutti i più rinomati scrittori dell'istoria generale del Regno di Napoli*, ed. G. Gravier (Naples, 1769–1772), v. The standard modern account is still Nunziante, *Arch. stor. napol.* XVII (1892) *et seqq.* See also E. Pontieri, 'La Calabria del secolo XV e la rivolta di Antonio Centeglia', *Arch. stor. per le provincie napoletane*, New Ser. X (1926), 5–154.

[99] In May 1460, Pius received an embassy from René of Anjou. Another from John of Anjou arrived soon after the battle of Sarno (Pius II to Cardinal Pierre de Foix, 24 May 1460, in Pastor, *Ungedruckte Akten*, p. 123; Pius II, *Commentaries*, Book IV. 325–326.

[100] *Commentaries*, Book IV, 325–326.

Italy? Woe to thee, Italy! if thou art forced to go under their yoke! I will help thee, Italy, with all my might that thou mayst not have to endure such cruel masters, although neither Venetians nor Florentines give any aid and their people, while they are trying to subdue thee and care not to agree among themselves, are preparing the way for foreign sovereignty over thee.'[101]

These brave words, written years after the events, hide the fact that the pontiff felt moments of hesitation, soon dispelled, however, partly through Ferrante's timely territorial concessions to Pius' nephews.[102] By August, the pope had overcome his doubts and had dispatched reinforcements to Ferrante, urging Sforza to follow suit. To the French he offered arbitration with himself as judge, a solution utterly unacceptable to the Angevins in view of their own victories and the pope's well-known anti-French bias.[103]

The Duke of Milan hardly needed the request of the pope, for he had already shouldered a considerable burden of the war. He quickly sent another contingent of troops to Ferrante, led by Roberto Sanseverino.[104] At the same time, Sforza answered a threatening letter and embassy from Charles VII, accusing him of anti-royal intrigues at Genoa and anti-French behavior in general, with another series of denials and expressions of devotion to the French monarchy.[105] To better explain his position, the duke also sent a special envoy to the king bearing with him a copy of the Italian League to justify Milanese policy in regard to the Neapolitan war.[106] But Charles, who by this time had learned to suspect the veracity of Sforza's denials, informed the Milanese envoy that his master could better demonstrate his devotion with deeds than words.[107]

[101] *Ibid.*, Book IV, 326.

[102] Pius' vacillations at this time are revealed by Simonetta, *Rerum*, XXVII, 436, 438. Additional evidence is given by Nunziante, *op. cit.*, XX, 472–473. Ferrente betrothed his natural daughter, Maria, to Antonio Tedeschini-Piccolomini, who received the duchy of Amalfi as dowry, the title of Grand Justiciar of the kingdom, and later the duchy of Sessa and Terracina. Another papal nephew, Andrea Tedeschini-Piccolomini, was awarded Castiglione della Pescaia in Tuscany and the island of Giglio. See I. Mazzoleni, *Regesto della Cancellaria Aragonese di Napoli* (Naples, 1951), appendix, doc. XIV, 216–226; Pius II, *Commentaries*, Book II, 125 and n. 25; Book IV, 329–330; Book V, 378–379.

[103] Pastor, *Storia*, II, 79, n. 4.

[104] Fumi, 'Roberto Sanseverino', pp. 344–345.

[105] Charles VII to Sforza, Razilly 24 Mar. 1460, in Beaucourt, *Histoire*, VI, appendix, doc. 26. The royal envoy was Regnault de Dresnay, bailiff of Sens. Sforza's reply, dated 12 May, is quoted by Beaucourt, VI, 299, n. 4.

[106] The Milanese envoy was Emanuele di Jacopo. His instructions are summarized by Beaucourt, *Histoire*, VI, 300.

[107] *Ibid.*, VI, 300–301.

In the meantime, Charles himself decided to engage in more deeds and fewer words. In June 1460, he granted a subsidy of 55,000 francs to John of Anjou.[108] During the following month, he sent an imposing embassy to Venice and the francophile duke of Modena, Borso d'Este, proposing an alliance against Sforza and a church council to consider measures against the Turks as well as against Pius II. The king suggested the following division of the duchy of Milan after the expected victory: the city of Cremona, the Bresciano, and the Bergamasco to Venice; Parma to the Duke of Modena; Piacenza or a sum of money to Piccinino, if the *condottiere* agreed to fight Sforza; the rest of the duchy to the Duke of Orleans.[109] The French scheme failed, however, because Venice once again refused to abandon her position of neutrality.[110]

The increasingly threatening attitude of the king led Sforza to become more receptive to overtures by the dauphin and Philip the Good of Burgundy for an alliance directed against Charles VII. It will be recalled that during 1456 Louis' relations with his father had deteriorated to such an extent that the former had been forced to leave the Dauphiné and take refuge at Genappe in Brabant under the protection of the Duke of Burgundy.[111] From his new headquarters, Louis kept in contact with all the enemies of the king, and particularly with the Yorkist leaders in England—the Duke of York and the war hero, the Earl of Warwick—who wished to dethrone the semi-demented Lancastrian king, Henry VI, and his unpopular queen, Margaret of Anjou, daughter of René. The War of the Roses, as this struggle is commonly known, greatly affected the lingering Anglo-French conflict, for the Lancastrians advocated a more moderate policy towards France while the Yorkists championed a more aggressive prosecution of the war. Under these circumstances it is not surprising to find that Charles VII was in full sympathy with the Lan-

[108] *Ibid.*, VI, 302; Lecoy de la Marche, *op. cit.*, I, 294.

[109] Actually, the only territorial prize offered to Venice was the Cremonese since the republic already possessed the Bresciano and the Bergamasco. The French were merely promising to recognize these Venetian conquests. The French embassy was composed of Nicolas Petit for the king, Guy de Brilhac for the Duke of Orleans, Jean de Rouville for the Duke of Brittany, and Jean d'Etampes for the Court of Angoulême. The alliance was to include all these princes. The ambassadors arrived in Venice on 29 Sept. 1460. Their instructions are summarized by Beaucourt, *Histoire*, VI, 302–303, and by Perret, *Histoire*, I, 346.

[110] The answer of the Venetian Senate, dated 11 Oct. 1460, is in Perret, *Histoire*, II, appendix, doc. XIII.

[111] T. Basin, *op. cit.*, I, 225 ff.; Champion, *op. cit.*, I, 207–209; J. Calmette, *Autour de Louis XI* (Paris, 1947), pp. 65 ff.

castrian party headed by the Angevin queen and the Duke of Somerset.[112] At the same time, it became the goal of Sforza's foreign policy to establish an entente with the Yorkist leaders in an effort to promote a new English invasion of France, with the aid of the dauphin and Philip the Good, so as to force Charles VII to attend to his own kingdom and abandon the Neapolitan enterprise.

The first steps towards such an anti-royal coalition were taken by Philip the Good and the dauphin. In May 1459, the Duke of Burgundy offered to form a league with Sforza and Ferrante against Charles VII. In the winter of 1460, Louis himself proposed an alliance to the Duke of Milan, requesting aid for his projected recapture of the Dauphiné.[113] Sforza, who at this time still wished to avoid a break with Charles VII and hoped for Venetian intervention on the side of Ferrante, declined the two proposals.[114] The threatening attitude of the French king in the spring of 1460, however, led the duke to accept the dauphin's overtures when they were renewed in May of the same year. Negotiations were begun in Milan by two envoys of the dauphin, and a draft of the treaty was completed by the latter part of August. The Milanese draft envisaged a mutual defense alliance of limited duration between the two princes. It was not expressly directed against Charles VII, for whom Sforza expressed 'love', 'affection', 'devotion', and 'reverence'. Louis bound himself to defend the rights of Sforza in the duchy of Milan. After the death of Charles VII, Louis was obligated to furnish 6,000 horsemen and 4,000 foot soldiers for the defense of the duchy, while the duke was bound to supply an equal amount of military aid to insure Louis' succession to the throne at the death of his father.[115]

Such expressions of affection towards the French monarch are hardly consonant with the objectives of the two princes. In fact, the proposed treaty was not directed against Charles VII; it applied mostly to the future king of France and not to Louis as dauphin. Available documents do not allow us to arrive at a definite solution of this seeming contradic-

[112] On the background of the Lancastrian-Yorkist feud, consult J. H. Ramsay, *Lancaster and York; a Century of English History (A.D. 1399–1485)* (Oxford, 1892), I, 1–205; R. B. Mowat, *The Wars of the Roses, 1377–1477* (London, 1914), pp. 1–100.

[113] See Ferrante to Sforza, 20 May 1459, in A. A. Messer, *Le Codice Aragonese. Contribution à l'histoire des Aragonais de Naples* (Paris, 1912), pp. 224–225, and Perret, *Histoire*, I, 335–336.

[114] Sforza's answer to Louis, dated 10 Mar. 1460, is quoted by Perret, *Histoire*, I, 336, n. 1.

[115] Louis' envoys were Gaston du Lyon and Giacomo di Valperga. The principal articles of the Milanese draft are given by Beaucourt, *Histoire*, VI, 306–307, notes.

tion, but the whole body of evidence surrounding this strange alliance reveals a policy of extreme caution on the part of the duke. In his instructions to Prospero da Camogli, the Milanese envoy charged with the final negotiation of the treaty at Genappe, Sforza had requested to be kept minutely informed on the internal affairs of France, on the closeness of the entente among the dauphin, the Duke of Burgundy, and the Yorkist leaders, and on the seriousness of the rift between Louis and his father.[116] Obviously Sforza wished to be certain before contracting the alliance that he was not dealing with a penniless prodigal son who at any moment might choose to return to the paternal fold. In this case he would have achieved nothing, and he would have made two enemies instead of one. We can then regard the Milanese text as a clever camouflage behind which the Duke of Milan wished to hide if Camogli found the situation at Genappe to be unfavorable to such an alliance, or in case the document itself should fall into the wrong hands. Sforza was thus playing a double game. At the very time that his special envoy was at the royal court expounding the devotion of his master towards the French crown, he was in the process of negotiating an alliance with the rebellious dauphin.

Camogli's estimate of the situation at Genappe and at the Burgundian court was most favorable to Milanese interests. He reported that the entente between the dauphin and Philip the Good was strong; that both princes were hostile to René of Anjou and wished to see Sforza in control of Genoa and Asti; and that a Yorkist invasion of France could be expected in March 1461.[117] Under these circumstances, Camogli scrapped the Milanese draft and decided to conclude a treaty of more immediate usefulness to both parties only thirteen days after his arrival at Genappe (6 October 1460). The treaty, concluded in the utmost secrecy, contains the following principal articles: (1) Both princes promised each other mutual assistance against any one who offended them. (2) The dauphin agreed to defend the rights of Sforza in the duchy of Milan, and to supply the duke with 4,000 horsemen and 2,000 foot soldiers, at his own expense, for a period of a year, within two months of a request for such aid on the part of the duke. (3) The treaty was not to derogate or prejudice any provisions of the Italian League, which was to remain inviolate.

[116] The text of the duke's instructions to Camogli, dated 27 Aug. 1460, is in Charavay, *op. cit.*, I, 324–326.

[117] See Camogli's dispatch to Sforza, Genappe, 2 Oct. 1460, as summarized by Beaucourt, *Histoire*, VI, 305–306.

(4) The alliance was to be perpetual and bind the successors of both princes; Louis bound himself as dauphin and as future king of France. (5) The duke agreed to guarantee the possessions of Giacomo di Valperga, as they were on 4 September 1460, against any attacks by his lord, the Duke of Savoy.[118]

The inclusion of the last article was to have important consequences for the relations of the two allies. Valperga, one of the negotiators of the treaty, was a Piedmontese baron and former chancellor (1452–1456) of the weak duke of Savoy, Louis I. Through Valperga, the dauphin had been able to exercise a great influence at the court of his father-in-law until the chancellor was overthrown by his rival, Antonio di Romagnano, and forced to seek protection at the court of his friend, the dauphin.[119] The Treaty of Genappe, contrary to the wishes of the Duke of Milan, bound the Milanese rulers to take Valperga's part against the Duke of Savoy. Sforza, however, refused to become deeply involved in hostile actions against another member of the Italian League while posing as its champion. Moreover, it had been his constant policy to exclude French influence at the Savoyard court, and he was probably not entirely innocent in the expulsion of Valperga and in the rise of Romagnano, one of his supporters.[120] The Valperga question gave rise to months of negotiations between the two allies and was solved only just before Louis ascended the throne, when he agreed to absolve Sforza from the execution of the Valperga clause in return for a money payment.[121]

Despite this setback, the Treaty of Genappe constituted a diplomatic triumph for the Duke of Milan. He had obtained an explicit recognition of his ducal title by the future king of France and an implicit repudiation

[118] The text of the treaty is in Dumont, *op. cit.*, III, pt. 1, 266–268, in Lunig, *op. cit.*, III, cols. 621–627, and in Charavay, *op. cit.*, I, 326–330. It is surprising that Philip the Good was not included in the treaty, and that no formal alliance was ever concluded between the Burgundian ruler and Sforza, in view of the former's desire for such a tie. However, it is known that the two princes enjoyed cordial relations, particularly in the economic sphere. See M. Martens, 'La correspondence de caractère économique échangée par Francesco Sforza, duc de Milan, et Philippe le Bon, duc de Bourgogne (1450–1466)', *Bull. de l'Institute historique Belge de Rome* XXVII (1952), 221–234.

[119] F. Gabotto, *Lo Stato sabaudo da Amedeo VIII ad Emanuele Filiberto* (Turin-Rome, 1892), I, 40 ff.

[120] The collusion between Sforza and Romagnano has been noted by Gabotto, *op. cit.*, I, 54–55, and n. 2. Cf. M. C. Daviso di Charvensod, 'Filippo Senza Terra; la sua ribellione nel 1462 e le sue relazioni con Francesco Sforza e Luigi XI', *Riv. stor. italiana*, ser. IV, VI (1935), 129–130.

[121] For the negotiations on the Valperga clause, see my dissertation, pp. 292 ff., 330–332.

of the Orleans claims, which were not even mentioned in the treaty. Technically he had not violated article five of the Italian League, which forbade secret alliances among Italian powers but did not apply to treaties negotiated with foreign rulers. Sforza had complied with the other requirement of the same article by inserting in the treaty a reservation for the league. The Valperga clause, inserted against his wishes, did violate the terms of the league, but the duke refused to observe it. This clause, however, shows that in the long run the anti-French policy of the duke could not be reconciled with the Italian ambitions of the dauphin and future king of France. But for the moment, Sforza had obtained the powerful support of a foreign prince without violating his Italian obligations. His alliance with the dauphin, and his cordial entente with Philip the Good, gave him the possibility of promoting dissension within the French kingdom itself.

At the same time Sforza cultivated the friendship of two other enemies of Charles VII—the Yorkist party in England and John II of Aragon. In England, he used the services of the bishop of Terni, Francesco Coppini, whom the pope had sent to England as *referendarium et oratorem* in January 1459 for the purpose of healing the Lancastrian-Yorkist feud and obtaining royal participation to the Congress of Mantua.[122] Disregarding his official instructions, probably with the tacit approval of Pius II, Coppini began to act as a secret agent of the Duke of Milan, under whose instructions he aided the Yorkist leaders and incited them to invade France with the coöperation of the dauphin and the Duke of Burgundy. The final victory of Edward of York at Towton, and his coronation as king of England on 28 June 1461, led the over-optimistic prelate to hope for an early invasion of France and for his promotion to the cardinalate as a reward for his services.[123]

Such a threat from the north was to coincide with a similar menace from the southern border of France according to Milanese strategy. In the south, Sforza and Ferrante were endeavoring to enlist the support of

[122] T. Rymer, *Foedera*, 3d ed. (La Haye, 1739–1745), XI, 419; Pius II, *Commentaries*, Book III, 268.

[123] Coppini's intrigues are revealed by his numerous dispatches to Sforza and others, some of which are written in sympathetic ink. They are included in *Calendar of State Papers—Milan*, ed. A. B. Hinds (London, 1912), I, in *Calendar of State Papers—Venice*, ed. R. Brown (London, 1864), I, and in B. de Mandrot, *Dépêches des ambassadeurs milanais en France sous Louis XI et François Sforza* (Paris, 1916–1919), I. See also C. L. Scofield, *The Life and Reign of Edward the Fourth, King of England and France and Lord of Ireland* (London, 1923), I, 73 ff., and, recently, P. M. Kendall, *Warwick the Kingmaker* (New York, 1957), pp. 67–69, 71–72, 76–77, 86–88.

John II of Aragon, brother of the late King Alfonso. Up to this time, the Aragonese king had been reluctant to become involved in the Neapolitan war, preferring to concentrate his attention on the Iberian peninsula, where he hoped to end French influence in the kingdom of Castile and achieve hegemony in Spain.[124] In the summer of 1458, John had attempted to conclude a treaty of alliance with Charles VII according to which the Aragonese monarch proposed to give a free hand to Charles in Italy in return for a similar guarantee in respect to Castile, the old ally of France. When Charles refused to abandon Castile, John decided to heed the appeals for aid of Ferrante and Sforza in an effort to bolster the weakening Aragonese position in the Mediterranean.[125] He sent an imposing embassy to the kingdom of Naples in the hope of reconciling the barons with Ferrante, and he ordered his navy to destroy the Angevin fleet supplying John of Anjou.[126] It appears then that by the summer of 1460 the Duke of Milan had succeeded in encircling France with a chain of allies and friends which included Edward IV in England, the dauphin and the Duke of Burgundy in France, his supporter Antonio di Romagnano in Savoy, and John II in Aragon. By the same token, Charles VII could count on the traditional ally of France against England, Scotland; the Lancastrian party in England; and the King of Castile. The Neapolitan war had become a factor in a European struggle for power, a fact that has not been sufficiently realized by historians.

The Milanese diplomatic successes coincided with a slow resurgence of Ferrante's military fortunes after the disaster at Sarno. In the fall of 1460 and the spring of 1461, the king received timely reinforcements from his friend George Scanderbeg, the Albanian hero, and from his

[124] The long-standing alliance between France and Castile has been studied by G. Daumet, *Étude sur l'alliance de la France et de la Castille aux XIV^e^ et au XV^e^ siècles* (Paris, 1898).

[125] Formerly it was believed that this alliance between the two kings had been concluded, as is claimed by G. Zurita, *Anales de la Corona de Aragona* (Zaragosa, 1610), IV, 64. Recent research by A. F. Torregrosa, 'Aspectos de la politica exterior de Juan II de Aragon', *Estudios de historia moderna* II (1952), 99 ff., has shown that the alliance was never concluded, or if it was, it was not ratified by either side.

[126] On John's foreign policy, consult the works of J. Vicens-Vives, *Fernando el Católico, Rey de Sicilia, 1458–1478; Sicilia en la política de Juan II de Aragon* (Madrid, 1952); *Juan II de Aragon (1398–1479). Monarquía y revolución en la España del siglo XV* (Barcelona, 1953); 'La politique mediterraneene et italienne de Jean II d'Aragon entre 1458 et 1462', *Schweizer Beiträge zur allgemeinen Geschichte* VIII (1950), 88–99; and 'La politique européenne du Royaume d'Aragon-Catalogne sous Jean II (1458–1479)', *Annales du Midi* LXV (1953), 405–414. Among the many studies of Franco-Spanish relations by J. Calmette, see particularly *Louis XI, Jean II et la révolution Catalane (1461–1473)* (Toulouse, 1903), and *La question des Pyrénées et la Marche d'Espagne au Moyen Age* (Paris, 1947).

faithful allies, the Duke of Milan and the pope.[127] These reinforcements allowed Ferrante to pass to the offensive in the spring of 1461 and win several engagements in Puglia, Terra di Lavoro, and Calabria.[128] In the meantime, dissatisfaction against French exactions, fanned by Milanese agents, produced an anti-French revolt in Genoa during which the Angevin garrison was forced to retire to the *Castelletto*. A relief French army, sent by Charles VII, was disastrously defeated by the Genoese with the aid of Milanese forces (March-July 1461).[129] The French star in Italy had begun to decline, though three more years were to pass before the final expulsion of John of Anjou from the kingdom of Naples.

In the midst of this general decline of French fortunes in Italy, Charles VII died on 22 July 1461 amidst the rejoicing of the dauphin, whose astrologers had predicted the death of the king during the summer of 1461.[130] The failure of the royal policy in Italy can be attributed partly to internal difficulties and to the king's irresolute policies. Domestic difficulties, such as the exhaustion of France in its struggle with England, and the opposition of some powerful nobles, particularly the dauphin and Philip the Good, made it difficult for Charles to implement a more forceful foreign policy not only in Italy but elsewhere. Torn between the often contrary aims of the Angevin and Orleanist factions, he was inconsistent in his favor towards the two families, a failing that alienated many Italian powers at the same time. He irked Venice by his aid to Sforza at the time of the Milanese succession crisis. Then he offended Sforza with his occupation of Genoa and his support of the Angevin invasion of Naples. Finally, he irritated Pius II with his refusal to repeal the Pragmatic Sanction and his dilatory response to the pope's appeal for a crusade. Thus, with Sforza, Pius II, and Ferrante hostile to France, and Venice semi-hostile, the king could count only on traditionally francophile Florence. But here Cosimo was the real ruler, and Cosimo could not afford to become isolated in Italy surrounded by pro-Ferrante rulers. Moreover, he needed the sword of Sforza to protect him from Venice, the fear of

[127] With this gesture, Scanderbeg wished to repay similar military aid he had received from Alfonso of Naples in his struggle against the Turks. See A. Gegaj, *L'Albanie et l'invasion Turque au XV^e siècle* (Louvain, 1937), pp. 122–124, and F. S. Noli, *George Castrioti Scanderbeg (1405–1468)* (New York, 1947), pp. 57–58.

[128] Pius II, *Commentaries*, Book V, 381 ff.; Pontano, *De bello neapolitano*, II, 50 ff.; Nunziante, *Arch. stor. napol.* XX, 495 ff.; XXI, 287 ff.

[129] Simonetta, *Rerum*, XXVIII, 441–446; Pius II, *Commentaries*, Book V, 369–370; Sorbelli, *op. cit.*, pp. 41 ff.

[130] *Calendar of State Papers—Milan*, I, no. 101; Beaucourt, *Histoire*, VI, 334, n. 5.

whose power had driven him to an alliance with Milan. Unwilling Florentine neutrality followed. Had Charles allied himself definitely with one side or the other during the crisis of the Milanese succession, it is likely that he would have been more successful in satisfying at least some of the French claims in the peninsula and perhaps in changing the course of Italian history in the second half of the fifteenth century.

Louis XI, who at the beginning of his reign also wished to attain hegemony over the Italian peninsula, attempted to avoid his father's errors by endeavoring to control Italy with the coöperation of Francesco Sforza and Pius II. Despite his superior ability and diplomatic finesse, he also failed not only because he was not able to buy the support of the two Italian rulers, but also because he was plagued by the same internal and external difficulties that had impeded Charles VII—the opposition of many of his nobles, particularly the Duke of Burgundy, and the coalition of hostile powers at the borders of France. He was successful in Spain with his occupation of the counties of Roussillon and Cerdagne (1463), but only at the cost of abandoning his objective to drive the English from Calais and surrendering Naples to Ferrante, Genoa and Savona to Sforza.[131] In brief, Italian affairs in the second half of the fifteenth century had already become an important factor in the struggle for power among the rising national monarchs, anticipating the large-scale Franco-Spanish rivalry for control of the Italian peninsula in the following century.

Francesco Sforza is chiefly responsible for the policy of exploiting France's difficulties, as well as the long-standing Anglo-French rivalry and the ancient struggle between France and Aragon for the control of the western Mediterranean, in order to defeat French hegemonic ambitions in Italy. In the implementation of this policy, the duke won the valuable support of Pius II. Both of these rulers had the foresight to realize that the immediate personal advantages to be gained by following a pro-French course would ultimately be nullified by the final submission of the whole peninsula to France. Cosimo de' Medici cannot take credit for this far-sighted policy because he was willing to accept French domination of the peninsula in order to save Italy from Venice. Historians who still credit Cosimo with the creation as well as the implementation of the policy of equilibrium among the Italian states can do so only by emphasizing his decision to side with Sforza against Ven-

[131] The diplomatic struggle between Louis XI on one side and Sforza and Pius II on the other is analyzed in detail in my dissertation, pp. 352–581.

ice in 1450 and ignoring his subsequent active francophile foreign policy.[132] For what kind of equilibrium would have prevailed in Italy with a powerful foreign power in control of Naples and Genoa and claiming the duchy of Milan itself?

This is not to say, however, that Sforza and Pius II were 'nationalistic' while Cosimo felt no Italian 'patriotism'. We can hardly think of these rulers in such terms, which can better apply to the period of the *Risorgimento*. One can only claim that Sforza and Pius II had greater foresight in that they clearly saw that their own fortunes were intimately tied to the fate of other Italian rulers. They seem to have had a deeper understanding of the interdependence of the many states in the peninsula—a preliminary step towards a slowly emerging 'national' consciousness which later gave rise to the Italian nation and nationalism as understood in modern terms.[133]

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[132] Such claims have been made generally by Florentine historiography, and have been accepted by Cosimo's two modern biographers: K. D. Ewart, *Cosimo de' Medici* (London, 1889), and Gutkind, *op. cit.* Other scholars who agree with this estimate of the Florentine ruler are B. Barbadoro, 'Firenze e i Medici nella storia d'Italia', in *Problemi storici e orientamenti storiografici*, ed. E. Rota (Como, 1942), p. 500, and F. Schevill, *The Medici* (New York, 1949), pp. 80–81.

[133] For my views on Renaissance 'nationalism', see my article '*Italianità* among Some Italian Intellectuals in the Early Sixteenth Century', *Traditio* XII (1956), 339–367.

The Decoration of a 1486 Book Wrapper and its Reappearance in 1531

THE migration of woodblocks and the copying of illustrations in the early period of printing comprise an interesting, but by no means novel, field of study. Today, when we point proudly and somewhat monotonously to our 'shrinking world', it is amusing to ponder how far, how easily, and at times how rapidly, news and ideas and art work traveled from one part of Europe to another, even in periods of history when communications and transportation were still primitive. Although the travels of the particular woodblock which is the subject of this article did not cover great distances, the comparatively long time which elapsed between its last hitherto known use and its reappearance is one of its puzzling aspects. The point of departure of our woodblock is Augsburg, the place of arrival Saxony; the journey began in 1486 and it ended in 1531. The unique feature of the illustration is its original use to decorate a book wrapper. When it reappeared in 1531, somewhat changed, it was used as the ornamental decoration of a title page of a Reformation pamphlet.

Paper wrappers, which were designed primarily to protect or adorn unbound pamphlets before they were bound together with other pamphlets in a more permanent larger volume (this is the reason for their scarcity), are known to have been produced during the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries in only three towns, i.e. in Augsburg, Ferrara, and Venice. The German examples follow a Gothic medieval style of ornamentation and are customarily thought to reproduce similar decorations on contemporary blind-tooled leather bindings; surviving Italian wrappers belong stylistically to the Renaissance. William A. Jackson recently published a very useful survey of the development of such book covers in which he includes the essential references to the literature on the subject.[1]

1 W. A. Jackson, 'Printed Wrappers of the Fifteenth to the Eighteenth Centuries', *Harvard Library Bulletin* VI (1952), 313–321.

The earliest surviving example was produced in Augsburg in or about the year 1482.[2] It is preserved around the Bamberg copy of the *Regiment der Gesundheit*, which was printed by Hans Schönsperger the Elder (cf. Hain 13744). In order to trace the development of the ornamentation we reproduce a detail from the back cover (figure 3, photographed upside down). The name of the artist is unknown; we even lack documentary proof that the wrapper was printed by Schönsperger. However, as Baer states, probably correctly, 'printers covered books [with this type of wrapper] in their shop and offered them for sale in this form'. Max Müller believes that the artist may have been Jörg Schapff, cutter and binder in Augsburg, who worked for Schönsperger.

A different wrapper is found around another product by the same printer, the *Historia von den sieben weisen Meistern*, Augsburg, 1486 (Hain 8732).[3] The front cover (which we reproduce in full, see figure 1) shows the influence of the 1482 wrapper, apparent when we compare the detail from the 1486 cover (figure 4) with the ornament reproduced as figure 3. The same pattern, in the form of a pomegranate, is used; even though the details differ and the style of the 1482 wrapper is freer and artistically of higher quality, it is likely that either the same atelier was responsible for both wrappers or the cutter of the 1486 wrapper was inspired by the earlier drawing.

Another wrapper was used for two productions of the Augsburg printer Zeisenmeier who had various contacts with Hans Schönsperger the Elder, from whom he had purchased his type fonts.[4] The two titles with the 'new' wrapper were the *Lehenrecht* of Obertus de Horto, Augsburg, 1494 (Copinger 4449) and the *Reformation des Kaisers Sigismund*, Augsburg, 1497 (Hain 14730).[5] This wrapper was certainly traced from

[2] Leo Baer, *Holzschnitte auf Buchumschlägen* (Strassburg, 1936, *Einblattdrucke des 15. Jahrhunderts*, Bd. 90); Max Müller, 'Der älteste bisher bekannte Buchumschlag', *Festschrift für Georg Leidinger* (Munich, 1930), pp. 195–197, and plate XXV. Müller dates the wrapper of the *Chiromantia*, assigned by some to the 1470s, 'not before 1488'.

[3] Leo Baer, *op. cit.*, no. 2; O. Leuze, 'Mit Holzschnitten verzierte Buchumschläge des 15. Jahrhunderts', *Festschrift für Georg Leidinger*, pp. 165–169, and plates XXI–XXII. The author is greatly indebted to his colleagues at the Landesbibliothek Stuttgart for providing an excellent photograph of the front cover corresponding to the exact measurements of the original.

[4] Joseph Benzing, *Buchdruckerlexikon des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Frankfurt a.M., 1952), p. 12, no. 4.

[5] Leo Baer, *op. cit.*, no. 5. The Harvard copy, on Obertus de Horto's *Lehenrecht*, is reproduced in Mr. Jackson's article (see note 1) and on plate XXXVIII of the *History of Bookbinding . . . An Exhibition . . . Baltimore Museum of Art* (Baltimore, 1957).

Figure 1. Wrapper of 1486 (original 168×108 mm)

Figure 2. Title page of *Ausschreiben*, 1531

the Schönsperger 1486 cover; the two covers agree in most details, except that the cut is reversed and the drawing is slightly modified as can be observed by comparing the pomegranate ornament in the two wrappers (figures 4 and 5).

No further use of this wrapper has been noticed in the literature. However, a later printing from the same block appears in the pamphlet *Ausschreiben durchs Chur vnd Furstenthumb zu Sachssen . . . zu erhaltung Christlicher Zucht* in the University of Pennsylvania Library. It is a mandate issued by Johann (called 'der Beständige'), elector of Saxony, at Torgau in 1531. The book dealer who had described the pamphlet of eight leaves had noted the curious title illustration and stated that it was 'obviously printed from a block originally used to print a wrapper'. His statement proves indeed to be correct! The reproduction of the title page (figure 2), when compared with that of the 1486 cover (figure 1), shows that the lower part of the inside decoration and the lattice-like line ornament of the borders on the four sides of the title are to all purposes identical. Some differences in the straight lines which separate the center from the outside border are noticeable; furthermore the entire middle and upper part of the center block was removed to make place for the letterpress title. To improve the appearance of the remainder a leaf-like small ornament of a common design was added on each side. A careful comparison of the pomegranate ornament of the 1531 title (figure 6) with the same detail of the 1486 border (figure 4) has convinced us that the original block was here adjusted for the purpose and used in printing the title page of the *Ausschreiben*.[6]

The original block (figure 1) probably consisted of five separate parts, the center piece and four border frames, all parts fastened together with four nails, which are visible as black dots in the corners of the woodcut. When the larger part of the center was cut off, the block had obviously to be disassembled which accounts easily for the differences in the straight lines inside the border. The question naturally intrigues us how the block came from Augsburg to Saxony, and where the pamphlet might have been printed. We recall that the 1482 and 1486 wrappers were produced for Hans Schönsperger the Elder. We know that his son, Hans the Younger, established a book and textile printing shop in 1523 in Zwickau.[7]

[6] The identity of the two ornaments was established by superimposing the 1531 pomegranate detail (figure 6) on the 1486 ornament (figure 4).

[7] 'Ayn Buch-, Zwillich-, Leynwandt-, Wullener tucher- vnd Seydengewandt-Druckereyen, dozu ayn Papir Mulhe.' Quoted from the contract between the city council of

There were good reasons for the establishment of a branch in Zwickau. Hans Schönsperger the Younger had been in Zwickau in 1521 to settle the estate of a Matthias Bamberger or Bomberger, who is referred to in a document as Hans' brother-in-law.[8] Schönsperger owned some property in Zwickau, a flourishing textile center, and yet up to that time without a printing press. The town was also a center of Lutheran and Anabaptist activities and the printing of Reformation pamphlets began to be recognized as good business; finally, the printing of ornamental designs on textiles might have promised good profit in Zwickau.

As a matter of fact the venture did not last long without running into difficulties. Hans Schönsperger owned the branch only until 1525. Benzing states that he sold his shop to Georg Lurtz from Leipzig in 1524 but that this sale was not consummated.[9] Actually, according to records printed by Fabian, the transfer took place and it included wooden forms and models.[10] Lurtz owned the shop for about half a year before Schönsperger reacquired the property. During this time Lurtz employed Jörg Gastel, who had earlier conducted the Zwickau branch of Schönsperger, and whose name appears on Zwickau imprints between 1523 and 1525 with, and without, the designation *Schönspergers Diener von Augsburg*. That Schönsperger's Zwickau venture was in financial difficulties we again learn from the records published by Fabian. His establishment was taken over in 1525 by Gabriel Kantz, who had also learned the trade in the employ of the Schönspergers. When Gabriel died in 1529, his widow married Wolf Meyerpeck, another former Schönsperger employee, who continued the business for many years. It seems probable to us that Meyerpeck was the printer of the *Ausschreiben*. We base this conclusion on circumstantial evidence: but we have documentary proof that the Schönsperger branch in Zwickau had a considerable number of forms in 1525; his manager Jörg Gastel is known to have reused and copied various woodcut borders, while in Zwickau, from originals which had been produced for other printers, e.g. Sylvan Otmar of Augsburg and Mel-

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Zwickau and Hans Schönsperger the Younger, 25 June 1523, reprinted by Ernst Fabian, 'Die Einführung des Buchdrucks in Zwickau,' *Mitteilungen des Altertumsvereins für Zwickau* VI (1899), 82–84.

[8] Ernst Fabian, p. 45.

[9] Joseph Benzing, *op. cit.*, p. 12, no. 8, and p. 195, nos. 1–3; for further bibliographical references see the same author's *Der Buchdruck des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig, 1936, *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, Beiheft 66), p. 127, nos. 1286–1289.

[10] 'Holtzerne formen vnd modeln . . . [vnd] drey vnd zwantzigk hultzerne Modeln zu parchant, zwillich, Atlas vnd wullen tuch trucken.' See Ernst Fabian, pp. 63–64 and 88–90.

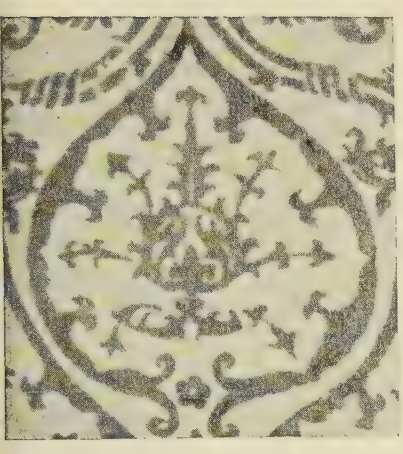

Figure 3. Detail from 1482 wrapper

Figure 4. Detail from 1486 wrapper

Figure 5. Detail from Zeisenmeier wrapper, 1494–1497

Figure 6. Detail from *Ausschreiben*, 1531

chior Lotter in Wittenberg;[11] we noted earlier that some forms, owned by the Zwickau firm, were for use in textile printing (see note 9). The block of the 1486 wrapper could equally well serve as the ornament to decorate a piece of cloth. Indeed, we are inclined to speculate whether these Augsburg wrappers may not have been influenced as much by textile designs as by the ornaments on blind stamps of bindings. The original block was probably taken by Hans Schönsperger the Younger or by his manager Gastel from Augsburg to Zwickau as part of their equipment, and altered and reused by Wolf Meyerpeck for the *Ausschreiben*.

The attribution of the pamphlet to Leipzig, as place of printing, by the book dealer from whom the pamphlet was purchased seems improbable on historical grounds. Our clearly Protestant publication, issued by the Lutheran elector Johann of Saxony, would hardly have been allowed to appear in Leipzig where a strongly anti-Protestant censorship operated at that time under George the Bearded, duke of Saxony.

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[11] Johann Luther, 'Der Besitzwechsel von Bildstöcken im Zeitalter der Reformation', *Zeitschrift für Bücherfreunde* 1 (1902–1903), 132–134.

Fortescue and the Renaissance: a Study in Transition

AT one point in the development of this paper I contemplated calling it 'Sir John Fortescue in another context'. I abandoned the title as too cryptic; but my intention remains the same, namely, to place Fortescue's thought in a less familiar but, I hope, a none the less revealing context. For the benefit of those who may well feel that the *dominium politicum et regale* in any other context would smell no fresher, let me hasten to add that I am not here primarily concerned with that famous formula, nor for that matter with Fortescue considered primarily as a political or legal theorist. I say 'primarily' because no assessment of that genial intellect can possibly avoid the stock of formal ideas which were its most prized possession, and I hope that this paper may throw some light, if only incidentally, on Fortescue's theory of government. But it is to the attitudes that conditioned his ideas that I would direct attention rather than to the fully formulated concepts themselves. Fortescue's mind labored in a curiously deceptive light shed on the one hand from the traditions of scholastic thought and on the other from the rapidly maturing realities of Renaissance life. It was a time in which, for the best of practical reasons, men of insight were making new approaches to these realities while still working with a theoretical apparatus inherited from an earlier era. To concentrate exclusively on the latter is, therefore, to run the risk of misinterpretation.

Misinterpretation has, indeed, dogged Fortescue's steps ever since the constitutional struggle of seventeenth-century England led partisans of both king and parliament to seek justification in his writings and to find respectively in the regal and political side of the balanced constitution he seemed to be describing precedent for a theory of sovereign power such as he himself would have found totally incomprehensible. Subsequent students of English constitutional history, raised in the tradition of parliamentary supremacy, have until relatively recently argued that Fortes-

cue, in adapting medieval theory to a type of government for which Thomas Aquinas recognized no exact precedent, was developing a theory of parliamentary, constitutional monarchy to fit the unique character of English government. Having shaped Sir John in their own image, they thought very highly of him.[1] More recent scholarship has focused more sharply on Fortescue. C. H. McIlwain interpreted him in the light, not of modern constitutional thought, but of a thoroughly medieval notion of dominion in which sovereignty and the ideas related to it could have no place whatever. It has even been argued that Fortescue, far from being an original or profound theorist or even an accurate observer of contemporaneous events, was thoroughly traditional in theory and often quite romantic in his assessment of fact.[2]

Yet, if Fortescue's stature has been diminished in the eyes of constitutional historians, he remains a very large toad in relation to the not so very large puddle that is fifteenth-century England. If only for this reason, if only because he is unique as an interpreter of that era of radical and confusing transition, he continues to demand and to receive critical attention. One has, indeed, at times the uneasy feeling that he is in some odd way more than the sum of his parts. By no means trained in the subtleties of scholastic thought, not in fact a philosophical mind, perhaps not even very well educated beyond the labyrinthine intricacies of the common law, he seems to have sensed more clearly than any of his English contemporaries the need for what certain moderns might call ideological clarification. By no means an accurate reporter of fact—his most famous writings were composed at a relatively advanced age and are colored by the romantic hindsight of the elderly and patriotic exile—

[1] See, for example, C. Plummer's introduction to his edition of Fortescue's *The Governance of England* (Oxford, 1885) and Lord Clermont's introduction to his edition of *The Works of Sir John Fortescue* (London, 1869). The most recent investigation of Fortescue's debt to Aquinas is in Felix Gilbert's 'Sir John Fortescue's *Dominium Regale et Politicum*', *Medievalia et Humanistica* II (1944), 88–97.

[2] C. H. McIlwain, *The Growth of Political Thought in the West* (New York, 1932), pp. 354–363. Most famous of the evaluations unfavorable to Fortescue as an interpreter of fact is A. F. Pollard's: 'The constitutional ideal which Sir John Fortescue depicted at the close of the middle ages had little more relevance to the practice of his day than More's *Utopia* had to the government of Cardinal Wolsey' (*The Evolution of Parliament*, London, 1934, p. 133). See also C. A. J. Skeel, 'The Influence of the Writings of Sir John Fortescue', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 3d Series, X (1916), 79–80; S. B. Chrimes' edition of Fortescue's *De laudibus legum Angliae* (Cambridge, 1942), p. c; R. W. and A. J. Carlyle, *A History of Medieval Political Theory in the West* (Cambridge, 1936), VI, 175–179, 192–226.

he nonetheless achieved an intuitive grasp of social and political reality which, if it fell short of modern realism, fell only a little short. Less of a legal mind than his contemporary Littleton, or at any rate inferior in his contribution to the study of substantive law, he became a pioneer in the investigation of comparative law and was unique in his awareness of the close relationship between law and the society it served.[3] It appears, then, that if we are to understand Fortescue's mind in its rich totality we must examine it in the context of the history of ideas, broadly considered, rather than strictly in that of legal studies. And it would seem that in the history of ideas Fortescue attains his true position less in his formal thought than by virtue of his attitudes toward society, in particular his awareness, however imperfect, of social process.

Let us, then, borrow him for a brief while from the legal and constitutional historians and from the students of formal political theory and set him among the medieval and Renaissance equivalent of the modern pamphleteers, the commentators if you will, those who wrote political comment and social criticism out of a sense of responsibility to the community, men whose concern was for the body politic as a functioning organism rather than as the object of theoretical analysis, whose purpose was to lay bare the sores of that body and to prescribe some kind of remedy.[4] This literature of political comment and social criticism is ill-defined and exceedingly varied in purpose and plan. It ranges from the comprehensive commentaries made by Langland and Gower on the entire range of human existence, to which discussion of specifically English conditions, though important, is incidental, down to the pamphlets produced in the third and fourth decades of the Tudor century, the work of such as Starkey or Morison or Hales, which argue the actual problems of English society with the singleness of purpose and the practical realism of a modern commentator. Yet all have this in common, that they treat actual conditions and point toward remedies their authors believed to be efficacious. It is in the course of such practical investigations of society

[3] On this point, and for having my attention called to the significance of the fact that Fortescue's major works stem from his later years, I am indebted to Professor Margaret Hastings.

[4] Much of the background for this paper may be found in the author's articles, 'Renaissance Realism in the "Commonwealth" Literature of early Tudor England', *Journal of the History of Ideas* XVI (1955), 287–305, and 'The Problem of Counsel in *Mum and the Sothsegger*', *Studies in the Renaissance* II (1955), 67–83. The author is currently engaged in exploring the political literature of England from the late fourteenth to the early sixteenth centuries with similar questions in mind.

that Englishmen made those initial adjustments to a changing world which were a necessary preparation for modern thought.

Since it will be impossible at this time to develop such a broad context, let us at least ask Fortescue the kind of questions we might ask writers of this sort rather than those we might pose were we dealing exclusively with lawyers or political theorists. If we survey the political literature of the century and a half from Gower to Hales we shall see a marked, if not always uniform, tendency to treat political and social problems, not *sub specie aeternitatis*, but in terms of actual life, as problems for which man may on his own initiative find practical solutions. This trend toward reality must not be confused with secularism. There was little that was secular about the fifteenth-century English mind. Its field of vision was still limited by the unquestioned designs of an almighty Providence. What we see stirring in this literature of diagnosis and remedy is rather a gradually maturing awareness of society as a mechanism of cause and effect and of man's real, if limited, ability to manipulate those causal forces.

There are no doubt many ways to estimate the growth of this emerging political consciousness. As far as the political literature is concerned, however, certain particular criteria suggest themselves. Fundamental is the general trend, already referred to, toward the tangible, the practical, toward that which can be encompassed in terms of time and place. This broad tendency, however, requires further investigation. Analysis will, I believe, reveal that it is composed of certain more subtle tendencies: first, a search for the causes of social ills, a quest that takes for granted the purposes of God and the constant factor of man's sinful nature and concentrates upon those factors of a more immediate sort which lie within the reach of man's ingenuity; second, an increasing willingness to look to governmental policy, rather than to spiritual and moral regeneration alone, for the needed remedies; third, a corresponding tendency to extend the scope of governmental action, to move, that is, from a concept of government as a purely protective agency, created for the limited purpose of preserving justice and peace, to a more positive idea of government as the source of constructive policy; and finally, a just barely dawning awareness of the fact and of the nature of social change, a feeling, not yet clearly articulated even by the mid-sixteenth century, that society was a complex of moving forces.

Now it is relatively easy to see Fortescue's place in the broader trend toward reality. He obviously shared with writers of political comment

and social complaint a deep concern for the condition of England and a desire to do something specific about it. Yet I wonder whether enough attention has been paid to his purpose in writing and to the way in which it was shaped by circumstances? Purpose is, of course, something that is difficult to document if, as is usually the case, the author has not seen fit to bare his inner thoughts to us; but it seems reasonably certain that practical considerations directed Fortescue's pen to a very large, indeed to an ever-increasing extent. Even his first major work, the *De natura legis naturæ*, highly theoretical and abstract as it seems, he began in answer to the specific need of the Lancastrian cause for propagandist support.[5] The *De laudibus legum Angliæ* he began ostensibly as a means of grounding his pupil, the young Prince Edward, in the law of England.[6] And in the last of his major works, *The Governance of England*, he undertook the strictly practical task of outlining a program of much needed administrative reform.[7] Yet it would be wrong to stop at the circumstances that elicited and perhaps conditioned each work. There runs through all three writings, especially the last two, a consistency of thought that cannot be explained merely by immediate circumstance; nor can it be laid to a more or less academic interest in law and government for which England provided simply a particularly interesting case study. It suggests, rather, that Fortescue was thinking in response to more far-reaching developments in the life of his day.

England in Fortescue's day was passing through an era of administrative confusion. At its best, as Professor Joliffe has pointed out,[8] Lancastrian government had advanced in practice without the formation of adequate constitutional theory to direct and maintain it. Now, in the third quarter of the century, in circumstances of civil war and a concomitant deterioration of the organs of government, it was possible for the principles underlying the English tradition to become so weakened that the virtues they embodied might also be lost. Demands for efficiency

[5] *De natura legis naturæ*, in *Life and Works of Sir John Fortescue*, ed. Lord Clermont (London, 1869). Felix Gilbert has called attention to the impact of practical considerations on this seemingly so theoretical work (*op. cit.* above). In this same article he stresses also the progressive impact of events on Fortescue's thought, especially the events of his exile.

[6] The editorial introduction to S. B. Chrimes' edition (with translation) is, incidentally, the most recent extensive discussion of Fortescue. Interesting comments on his legal thought are contained in the general preface, by H. D. Hazeltine, editor of the Cambridge Studies in English Legal History.

[7] *Governance of England*, reprinted in Dunham and Pargellis, *Complaint and Reform in England* (New York, 1938), pp. 51–82.

[8] J. E. A. Joliffe, *The Constitutional History of Medieval England* (London, 1937), p. 430.

could lead to a government that recognized no other criterion than its own ability to govern. While in exile after the defeat of the Lancastrian party, Fortescue had become very much aware of what had happened in France in circumstances not too different from those that had affected England. He saw that King Louis had strengthened his control over his realm, but only at the expense of the traditional limitations inherent in representative institutions and in feudal law. The French king, he tells us, had not always ruled despotically and taxed his subjects at will. He had been induced to do so under stress of the late war with England.[9] Despite a robust faith in the stability as well as in the excellence of the English tradition of government, the *dominium politicum et regale*, Fortescue seems to have felt that similar forces were impelling the English king to follow the lead of his neighbor across the water. He recognized the necessity for any monarch to act arbitrarily in cases of emergency,[10] and he repeatedly states that the civil law (which, by the way, he virtually identifies with the rival system of government, the *dominium regale*) had, through its maxim *quod principi placuit legis habet vigorem*, already made a strong appeal to certain English kings and to certain of their advisers.[11] It could, in short, happen in England.

Now it would not, I am sure, be too fantastic to see in this, the basic problem of fifteenth-century government, the source of Fortescue's preoccupation with constitutional principle. Despite the academic paraphernalia he borrowed, probably at second-hand, from the non-national culture of the medieval schools, it was English government he was concerned with, and the task he had ever before him was that of clarifying the principles that underlay the 'limited' monarchy he believed England to be.[12] Clearly also his concern was with the limited monarchy in operation. Its test, like that of its rival, is its fruits; and its fruits are found, with more patriotic enthusiasm than objectivity, to be not only good in

[9] *Governance*, chap. iii.

[10] *De natura*, chap. xxv.

[11] *De laudibus*, chap. xxxv (p. 84, lines 34–35), chap. xxxvi (p. 88, lines 11–13); chaps. xxxiii and xxxiv.

[12] In his essay 'The Political and Constitutional Theory of Sir John Fortescue', in *Essays in History and Political Theory in honor of Charles Howard McIlwain* (Cambridge, Mass., 1936), pp. 295–296, Max A. Shepard called attention to Fortescue's background of the moderately well-to-do country gentry as an explanation of his interest in the Lancastrian tradition. I am not at all sure that either factional affiliations or social background were likely to affect the general approach of a fifteenth-century Englishman to the principles of government.

themselves but good in comparison to those of the despotic monarchy of France. The English people live well, make good soldiers, and can be ruled safely only with their consent: the French live poorly and have neither the strength to fight nor the will to rebel. Essentially Fortescue is comparing a government whose virtue lies in its administrative efficiency with one in which the rights of the subject, and hence his welfare, are protected by law.[13] From this comparative and highly pragmatic view of the two rival systems—the one based on and for practical purposes identical with the law of Rome, the other equally closely related to the English common law[14]—there follow logically such reform measures as Fortescue has to offer. *The Governance of England* embodies a specific plan for the reform of the royal administration which is intended to

[13] *De laudibus*, chaps. xxxv and xxxvi; *Governance*, chap. iii. On Fortescue's accuracy, see Chrimes, *De laudibus*, pp. 181–183 (re chap. xxv); cf. R. W. and A. J. Carlyle, *A History of Medieval Political Theory in the West* (Cambridge, 1936), VI, 175–179, 192–226, C. Petit-Dutaillis in E. Lavisse, *Histoire de France* (Paris, 1911), IV, part 2, pp. 207 ff., 251–252, 299–400.

[14] The general outlines of Fortescue's ideas may be found in *De natura*, part I, chaps. xvi, xxii–xxvi; *De laudibus*, chaps. ix, xiii, xiv, xviii, xix, xxxv–xxxvi; *Governance*, chaps. i–iii. Fortescue's tendency to identify law and constitution is fundamental in his thought. The mixed government of England had its foundation in the common law, which in turn was the particular expression for English needs of the higher law of nature. Hence he was able to write the *De laudibus legum Angliæ* primarily in an effort to justify what we should call the English constitution. (See chaps. ix, xiii, xiv, xviii, xix, xxv–xxvi.) In his zeal for the 'mixed' monarchy, Fortescue all but identified despotism with tyranny. Having enshrined the rights of private property in the absolute law of nature rather than in the mutable *ius gentium* as the practice had been among medieval theorists (Shepard, pp. 300–301), and having set up respect for property as a fundamental criterion of good government, he made it very difficult for a despotic monarch to reap any benefit from a power unlimited by positive law without being guilty of tyranny; because, if he took property without the consent and advice of the subjects, it implied that he could not get it with their consent, that he was therefore acting in violation of the law of nature, ruling for his own convenience, in short, becoming a tyrant (*De natura*, part I, chap. xxviii). But Fortescue treated the civil law with great deference and followed Biblical and philosophical authority in declaring that a despotism is good when at its best (*De laudibus*, chap. xxv; cf. chap. xxxv, *De natura*, part I, chaps. xi, xii, xvi–xviii), and moreover, he was careful to point out that in practice a despotic régime does not necessarily become tyrannical (*De laudibus*, chap. ix; *Governance*, chap. iii). He merely tended to take it for granted that all good government must be, in its effects, like that of England (when the latter was functioning properly) no matter what its legal powers might be. What he distrusted was not the rule of a benevolent despot, but the entire lack of any limitation other than the *digna vox* within the breast of the king to prevent him from degenerating into a tyrant. 'Therefore [he said] clap your hands, ye subjects of a king ruling royall, under a good sovereign, when such a one there is, because ye must needs mourn when an insolent or grasping king rules over you. And you, ye subjects of a king presiding royally and politickly over his kingdom, console yourselves in this respect, that, if your king be equally arrogant, he hath not a loose rain for it, like the other' (*De natura*, part I, chap. xv, p. 87).

strengthen the position of the king and his council.[15] Curious as this proposal may seem from one who is supposedly interested in protecting the rights of the subject from a too strong monarchy, it was meant to remedy that very lack of governance of which he and several of his contemporaries most bitterly complained,[16] and which he conceived to be the worst threat to the English way of life.

Fortescue saw a threat to the English tradition on the one hand in an administration pressed beyond caring for the legal rights and welfare of its subjects by the necessity of maintaining itself, and on the other hand in ignorance of the principles upon which the limited monarchy rested. His contemporary, George Ashby, wrote in his *Active Policy of a Prince* a pamphlet on government equal in the practicality of its proposals for reform to Fortescue's own *Governance of England*; but in the suggestions he made for a more efficient administration, suggestions which, incidentally, foreshadow many of the policies actually adopted by Edward IV and the early Tudors,[17] there is no concern for those legal limitations that bulk so large in Fortescue's work, however much there might be for the general end of good and abundant governance. Fortescue seems to have been keenly aware of this tendency to seek good government in techniques rather than in properly implemented principles and to have found it dangerous.

If we examine his writings in the light of this ideological conflict, a conflict which, by the way, Fortescue seems to have been alone among Englishmen in recognizing, several things about him become clearer. We can the more readily appreciate why he turned the first book of his treatise on the law of nature into a vindication of the English tradition of government; why, when he undertook to write a book of instruction for young Prince Edward, he abandoned the inveterate habit of medieval tutors and, instead of writing generally *de regimine principum*,[18] he

[15] *Governance*, chaps. x, xi, xv, xvii, xviii.

[16] *Ibid.*, chaps. iv–ix. For contemporaneous comment, see, for example, George Ashby, *The Active Policy of a Prince*, in *The Poems of George Ashby*, ed. Mary Bateson (1899, E.E.T.S., E.S. 76); *Political Poems and Songs Relating to English History . . . from the Accession of Edward III to that of Richard III* (1861, Rolls Series), II, 229–231. See also S. B. Chrimes, *An Introduction to the Administrative History of Medieval England* (New York, 1952), pp. 243–246.

[17] See especially, *Active Policy*, lines 618–642, 807–813, 870–873, 541–552, 716–722.

[18] On this tradition, and especially the influence of the pseudo-Aristotelian *Secreta secretorum*, a genre apparently very popular (if only *faute de mieux*) among the fifteenth-century English governing class, see Wilhelm Kleineke, *Englische Fürstenspiegel vom Policraticus Johanns von Salisbury bis zum Basilikon Doron König Jakobs I* (Halle, 1937); Robert Steele,

wrote in commendation of the laws of England, and did so, moreover, at a time when to commend anything in England was rare, but to praise the judicial system was certainly unique; why, also, he set himself to analyze the causes of that lack of governance which seemed to point to a system of government better adapted than the English to coping with disorder, and to suggest specific alternatives. This preoccupation of his also helps explain why Fortescue, though a professional lawyer, one-time chief justice, set forth the results of his investigations and thinking in his last two works in semipopular form rather than in formal treatises, stiff with scholarly apparatus.[19] Like another contemporary, Reginald Pecock,[20] he was interested in placing the conclusions of his professional thought before the educated public. Similarly, if our hypothesis is correct, it becomes clearer why he, alone of fifteenth-century Englishmen, brought the political philosophy of western Christendom into contact with what he believed to be actual English conditions (whether they were or not is beside the point), and recognized both the essential sturdiness of English institutions and the need for defining their principles.

Fortescue may thus be said to have been conservative in his purpose. He hoped, by clarifying the principles upon which English government had, he thought, from time immemorial rested, and by presenting a program of specific reforms which would remove from English kings the temptation to rule despotically, to shore up a venerable edifice. By virtue of his precedent-regarding lawyer's training, perhaps also by temperament, he tended to look to the past; nor was his mind in any appre-

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ed., *Secrees of Old Philosoffres* (E.E.T.S., E.S. 66, 1894), introduction; Allan H. Gilbert, *Machiavelli's Prince and its Forerunners* (Durham, N. C., 1938); Lester K. Born, 'The perfect prince, a study of 13th and 14th century ideals', *Speculum* III (1928), pp. 470 ff. Born has included a useful bibliography of the mirror of princes literature in his edition of Erasmus' *The Education of a Christian Prince* (New York, 1936). Cf. Allan H. Gilbert, 'Notes on the Influence of the *Secretum Secretorum*', *Speculum* III (1928), pp. 84–98.

[19] Some modern scholars have hesitated to credit Fortescue with a truly scholarly or profound treatment of his subject: cf. C. A. J. Skeel, 'The influence of the writings of Sir John Fortescue', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 3d Series, X (1916), pp. 79–80; C. H. McIlwain, *The Growth of Political Thought in the West* (New York, 1932), p. 354. Chrimes allows that Fortescue's comparisons of English and Roman law 'may not be very profound', but emphasizes the fact that they mark the beginning of a less insular outlook on the part of the common lawyer and foreshadow the comparative study of law (*De laudibus*, pref., p. c).

[20] Pecock, *Reule of Crysten Religioun*, ed. W. C. Greet (1926, E.E.T.S., O.S. 171), pp. 17–19; *The Repressor of Over Much Blaming of the Clergy*, ed. C. Babington (1860, Rolls Series), I, 46–47.

ciable extent diverted by that antiquarianism already filtering into English scholarly circles from Renaissance Italy.

But if conservatism gave substance to his thought, realism dictated its form. In his attitude toward the issues he recognized as most urgent in English public life he demonstrated an ability we like to think of as modern to translate even the most abstract principles into concrete terms and to keep his mind, even when exploring theory, at the level of observable conditions. If his observations became at times distorted by the romanticism of the aging and exiled patriot, if they do not always tally with what historians have discovered to be the fact, they constituted none the less the groundwork for his thought. Fortescue's realism has little enough to do with factual accuracy. It is part rather of his grasp of the underlying tendencies which remain discernible despite the existence of contrary instances. His picture of French and English societies may have as little resemblance to the facts as Hogarth's graphic comments on the two peoples two and a half centuries later. But, like Hogarth, Fortescue had seized upon certain essential differences which went a long way toward justifying such exaggeration as he was guilty of. If he had little else in common with the social scientist of modern times, he had a preoccupation with the problems of actual life and a willingness to let observation take precedence over authority. Especially in the baldly practical chapters of the *Governance*, the philosophers and even the Scriptures recede into the background. Of the standard sources of authority, history alone, the record of accumulated experience, occupies a really prominent position, reinforcing the findings of more immediate experience.[21]

In order to appreciate both the extent and the limitations of Fortescue's realism, it will be necessary to apply to it those further questions mentioned earlier in this paper. Especially important is the question, where did Fortescue look for the cause of the evils he hoped to remedy, for the factors which must be removed if a remedy is to be more than a palliative? Perhaps the freshest, the most 'modern' characteristic of his thought is his ability to take for granted the conditions of the divine drama, to accept the limits set upon human choice by Providence and by the sinful propensities of man, and to seek more immediate causes which might be comprehended by men of intelligence and used by them as the basis of public policy.

In medieval times, and, indeed, well into the sixteenth century, the cause of social evils was ordinarily sought in man's moral nature. Even

[21] E.g., *Governance*, chap. ix.

so good a 'commonwealth man' as Robert Crowley traced the evil of enclosures, as any medieval preacher might have done, to the tendency of rich men to covet still greater riches. According to this way of looking at things, government is good or bad as the men on whom it depends are good or bad. Men rather than institutions are the critical element—men, that is, considered strictly in their moral, not in their creative capacity. To an increasing extent, however, especially among the humanistically trained pamphleteers of the mid-sixteenth century, society comes to be considered a complex of moving forces sufficiently tangible for the mind of man to encompass and by constructive policy to manipulate. John Hales even went so far as to abandon the analogy of the body politic, which inevitably carried with it personal, moral implications, in favor of a mechanical analogy, namely, that of the clock, in which it is readily apparent how one wheel is driven by another and all eventually by the master wheel.[22]

Now Fortescue, though dealing with the problem of government where impersonal forces were less apparent than in the economic affairs usually explored by Hales and his like,[23] was nevertheless quite able to concentrate his analytical attention upon institutional, historical, even what would now be called sociological considerations. Not that he was amoral after the manner of Machiavelli or so cynical in his treatment of human motives as his contemporary Commynes—with whom, incidentally, he had much else in common.[24] His was a kindly, optimistic nature, through which ran a strong current of simple piety and orthodox belief. He accepted the Christian cosmology, the authority of the Scriptures, the primacy of the pope, and the moral underpinning of all society.[25] Government, in particular, was to him primarily ethical in purpose, the necessary means to the attainment of the good life which he defined in terms of happiness, attained through virtue and justice.[26] He

[22] Specific references for an amplification of the above material may be found in the author's article, 'Realism in the "Commonwealth" Literature of Early Tudor England'. For Hale's clock analogy in particular, see *Discourse of the Commonweal of this Realme of England*, ed. E. Lamond (Cambridge, 1893), p. 98.

[23] The importance of economic developments in the history of modern political consciousness is one that requires considerable study.

[24] On this subject, see the excellent article by W. J. Bouwsma, 'The Politics of Commynes', *Journal of Modern History* XXIII (1951), 315–328.

[25] G. L. Mosse, 'Sir John Fortescue and the Problem of Papal Power', *Med. et Hum.* VII (1952), 89–94; E. F. Jacob, *Essays in the Conciliar Epoch* (Manchester, 1943), chap. VI, especially p. 119; Hazeltine, p. iii. Cf. Kleineke, pp. 174–179.

[26] *De laudibus*, chap. iv; *De natura*, part I, chap. xlvi, p. 113.

recognized the importance of personal factors in a government of men by men. But he chose to limit the personal element by so reforming institutions as to leave the individual the least possible room, and, more important, the minimum of incentive, for selfish or vicious action. He knew that a prince would do anything he felt he had to in order to maintain his power. So, just as Clement Armstrong in a later generation sought to increase Tudor husbandry by making sheep-raising unprofitable through policies regulating the staple,[27] so Fortescue sought, by increasing the endowment of the crown, to make it unnecessary and less attractive for the king to seek 'exquysite meanes of geytinge of good . . . to the perversion of Justice and perturbation of the peas and quiete of the reaume'.[28] He knew that, in circumstances of disorder then prevalent, the king's councillors were likely to be selfish; so he recommended a balancing of interests within a reformed council in such a way as to check the special interests of any one person or clique.[29] Even more interesting is the fact that, in his awareness of impersonal causes and his preference for institutional remedies, he avoided not only the helplessness of the Christian moralist, painfully aware that only spiritual regeneration could effect lasting reform, but also that glorification of the princely personality which marks the work of Machiavelli and to some extent Fortescue's English contemporary, George Ashby.

Worth noticing also is the fact that Fortescue, while accepting the medieval commonplace that good government depends on good counsel, embodied that commonplace in a specific recommendation for reform of the actual group of councillors surrounding the king. Good counsel might well be, as the author of *Mum and the Sothsegger* saw it at the opening of the century, a function of the fundamental conflict of truth with falsehood within the human soul.[30] But to Fortescue the practical question is how to arrange things so as to curb, as far as possible, the vicious propensities of men by intelligently constructed institutions.

His willingness to think in terms of impersonal forces made it possible

[27] *A treatise concerninge the Staple*, in R. H. Tawney and Eileen Power, *Tudor Economic Documents* (London, 1924), III, 90–114.

[28] *Governance*, chap. v, see also chaps. viii–xiv.

[29] *Ibid.*, chaps. v, ix, and xv.

[30] See the author's 'The Problem of Counsel in *Mum and the Sothsegger*'. Cf. *Governance*, chap. xvi, and the related fragment entitled *Example what good counsayle helpithe and advantageth and of the contrary what folowith*, printed by Plummer in *Governance*, appendix A. A 'new technique of counsel' was an increasingly recognized issue in late medieval government; cf. Chrimes, *Introduction to the Administrative History of Medieval England*, p. 246.

for Fortescue to anticipate other curiously modern points of view. As S. B. Chrimes has pointed out, Fortescue was 'the first Englishman, so far as we know', to perceive 'that the causes of national differences in legal and constitutional institutions must be sought in underlying differences of economic and social conditions, and in so doing he anticipated the outlook of Bodin and Montesquieu'.[31] English institutions, he argued, owed certain of their distinctive characteristics and virtues in part at least to the prosperity of the country and the existence of a large group of middling people prosperous enough and with sufficient leisure and freedom of mind to take part in community affairs. This was why the jury system, which Fortescue felt to be an essential element in the English legal structure, could work in England and could not in France, where, he says, there is scarcely a single village where one man can be found with enough means to serve on a jury. He even sees an important causal factor in the predominance of pasture in England; for, he argues, sheep farming as practised in England within well-enclosed fields, subject to a minimum of depredation from wild animals, leaves much more time for leisure than the constant tilling of the soil practised in other lands. Hence Englishmen 'are more apt and disposed to investigate causes which require searching examination than men who, immersed in agricultural work, have contracted a rusticity of mind from familiarity with the soil'.[32]

In like manner Fortescue traces the strength of English arms to the prosperity of the English yeoman farmer and insists on the close relationship between poverty and rebellion: 'For nothing may make [a king's] people to arise but lack of goods or lack of justice. But yet certainly when they lack goods they will arise, saying that they lack justice.'[33] In other words, the English system of law and government was suited to the people of England just as that of France was what the people of France deserved.

Yet Fortescue also sees it the other way. He recognizes that a system of law and government will affect the social and economic conditions within the realm. The prosperity of England is simply one 'fruit' by which may be known the *jus politicum et regale*, just as the poverty of Frenchmen stems from the *jus regale* under which they have come to live. These two forms of government are in turn conditioned by their

[31] *De laudibus*, introd., p. cii.
[32] *Ibid.*, chap. xxix.
[33] *Governance*, chap. xii.

respective historical backgrounds—the one resulting from an agreement between governor and governed, the other from the exercise of force by the king.

Fortescue has, indeed, a noteworthy, if rudimentary, sense of history. If the past he examines is only too often beclouded in mythology (he accepts, with no more question than any other Englishman of his day, the legend of Brutus, the first king of England) it is still important that he felt it possible and useful to examine the past as recorded not only in the classical authors and the Scriptures but in the chronicles of England and France, above all, the chronicles of recent events.[34] It is in those events that Fortescue sees the more immediate cause of the difference between the French and English forms of government. In a sense his comparative study of law rests upon the assumption of historical contingency. Perhaps, had he been able to draw inspiration from humanist scholarship as well as from experience and from medieval theory, he might well have inaugurated a tradition of historical interpretation in the study of law which, as Mr. Pocock has recently demonstrated,[35] came late in England, long after the lawyers of sixteenth-century France had already brought history to the aid of law and made it possible for legal studies to illuminate history.

Particularly interesting is Fortescue's awareness, however dim it may be, of social development. Social history commanded much less attention in the fifteenth century than political. Yet Fortescue, as we have seen, manages to find in social and economic considerations conditioning factors of the utmost significance. He assumes that there took place in the far distant past a gradual maturing of society. Men originally were under kings who ruled arbitrarily, but as they became more civilized they were able to insist on a government in which laws could be passed and taxation imposed only by their consent.[36] Fanciful as it was, this notion of social evolution was at least as discerning as the myth of the state of nature, so dear to the hearts of the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century theorists. Considering more recent times, Fortescue traced, as we have seen, many of the peculiar virtues of English law to the peculiarities of the English economy. And at one point he offers a most ingen-

[34] E.g. *ibid.*, chap. iii. See also chap. ix. His reference to the Brutus legend is in chap. ii. It is worth noticing that Fortescue's historical approach to the government of his day anticipates that of Sir Thomas Smith in *De republica Anglorum*, ed. L. Alston (Cambridge, 1906), Book I, chap. xv.

[35] J. G. A. Pocock, *The Ancient Constitution and the Feudal Law* (Cambridge, 1957).

[36] *Governance*, chap. ii. For background material on medieval notions of social origins see G. Boas, *Essays on Primitivism and Related Ideas in the Middle Ages* (Baltimore, 1948).

ious explanation for the continuing use of French and Latin in a largely English-speaking England.[37]

It would, however, be easy to exaggerate the historicism of Fortescue's thought as well as his awareness of social cause. Indeed, it is the rudimentariness of his historical sense that impresses itself upon us almost as much as the fact that he possessed it. Like most English lawyers for generations after his day, he assumed that the custom upon which the common law rested was of immemorial antiquity.[38] And in his explanation of the divergence between English and French government he falls back only too readily on such questionable factors as the inherent sturdiness of the English temper as contrasted with the inborn cowardice of the French.[39]

It is hard, indeed, to avoid the impression that Fortescue retained an essentially static view of society. He accepted the possibility of change, but only up to a point. Sooner rather than later he is pulled up short by a sense of the ordained nature of things, a feeling considerably more deep-seated than his sense of historical development. Perhaps, indeed, the evidences of historical consciousness of which we become occasionally aware are merely accidental manifestations of a shrewd, undoctrinaire realism.

Perhaps, indeed, it is his inability to conceive of society as a moving thing that prevented him also from assigning to government a function much broader in scope than that which a Langland or a Gower had envisaged almost a century earlier.[40] Even in this respect, to be sure, Fortescue impresses us above all by the apparent realism of his observations. Unlike the 'moral' Gower who was constantly oppressed by the vastness of the reformer's task in a society where sin itself is the enemy, Sir John could see the possibility of reform through governmental policy. Indeed, his awareness of the need for regulation of foreign trade—he specified, for example, that his reformed council would be responsible for

[37] *De laudibus*, chap. xlviii.

[38] *Ibid.*, chap. xviii. Chrimes notices this in his introduction, p. xlvi.

[39] *Governance*, chaps. xii–xiii.

[40] Perhaps the best treatment of Langland's political outlook is E. T. Donaldson, *Piers Plowman, the C-Text and its Poet* (New Haven, 1949). No systematic effort has as yet been made to canvass Gower's voluminous writings in this respect, but useful material may be found in Maria Wickert, *Studien zu John Gower* (Diss., University of Köln, 1953), and G. R. Coffman, 'John Gower in his most Significant Role', *Elizabethan Studies and other Essays in Honor of George F. Reynolds* (1945, University of Colorado Studies, Series B, vol. II, no. 4), pp. 52–61.

just such bullionist measures as Edward IV and Henry VII were actually adopting—seems to place him just next to the author of the *Libel of English Policy* as a prophet of mercantilism.[41] But it is equally clear that his practical proposals were meant to restore to proper working order a government still essentially protective in function rather than to establish it as an agency from which might emanate constructive policy. 'Good and politic governance' meant, to him as to most fifteenth-century Englishmen, the maintenance of justice and the preservation of peace. A king's office, he tells us in the *Governance*, amplifying a statement made years earlier in the *De natura*, 'stands in two things, one to defend his realm against their enemies without by the sword; another that he defend his people against wrong doers within by justice'—and cites the first book of Kings as his authority.[42] And we should do well to interpret this statement literally. Much misinterpretation of medieval English political thought has crept into history books by way of the modern historian's unwillingness to believe that such utterances, the constant refrain of political expression from fugitive verses on the times to speeches recorded in the *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, were simply rhetorical commonplaces.[43] Although the king is very much the source of government, Fortescue did not see in him or in his counsellors the source of that ingenious statecraft which Machiavelli and his humanist forerunners recognized in Italian politics.[44] It is society, as ordained by God, that Fortescue is concerned with, not statecraft; it is welfare, the proper working of the political body, that he seeks as the true end of government, not power.[45]

Close as he came to the threshold of modern thought, Fortescue was never quite able to appreciate the dynamic implications of Renaissance society, even as a few choice minds of early Tudor England were able, however imperfectly, to do. Mercantilist policy, to use Eli Heckscher's

[41] *Governance*, chap. xv. Cf. *The Libel of English Policy*, in Dunham and Pargellis, pp. 3–30.

[42] *Governance*, chap. iv. Cf. *De natura*, part II, chap. viii.

[43] Examples may be found in many earlier and contemporaneous texts; see, for excellent examples, *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, III, 336, and V, 622. For discussion of this concept of kingly duty, see Chrimes, pp. 14–17, 197.

[44] F. Gilbert, 'The Humanist Concept of the Prince and the Prince of Machiavelli', *Journal of Modern History* XI (1939), 449–483.

[45] G. L. Mosse notices that Fortescue spoke of the 'good publique', but failed to rationalize it into an idea of 'reason of state' (*The Struggle for Sovereignty in England*, East Lansing, 1950).

words, 'demanded a creative imagination in the agents of the state—a capacity to set up something positive where nothing before existed'.[46] Ingenuity was expressed in actual cut-and-fit measures long before its importance in a Europe of competing powers was recognized in theory. And such recognition fails to fit into what we can see of Fortescue's habits of thought. Indeed it is his devotion to the ideal of a society in which stability is the desired norm and of a government whose function is simply that of maintaining justice and peace that made it difficult for those who came after him to understand fully the constitutional theory he helped to clarify for his own contemporaries. It was especially difficult for those who came to think of government in terms of sovereign power. It is still not easy, for example, to understand why Fortescue sought to protect the rights of subjects in a limited monarchy by strengthening the executive. Nor is it clear what positive check, if any, he would place on the actions of a king.[47] Although he admitted in the *De natura* that divine vengeance alone could be counted upon to punish a king and so only the fear of it could in the long run restrain him,[48] Fortescue did recognize certain practical obstacles in the way of the willful ruler. One, as he seems to imply in the *De laudibus*, is the law itself, the tough fiber of the common law as interpreted by the equally tough and dedicated English lawyers and applied by them to actual cases.[49] In the *Governance*, he implies the possibility of rebellion; but it is clearly a desperate remedy, good enough for Frenchmen, but likely to cause almost as much trouble to respectable Englishmen as tyranny itself.[50] No doubt he considered the reformed council an effective guardian of English liberties rather than as a tool of the crown, for it was supposed to provide the king with that sage and politic counsel from which alone good governance could

[46] E. F. Heckscher, *Mercantilism* (London, 1935), I, 41.

[47] Fortescue undoubtedly sensed the need for some more adequate guarantees for English freedom than the intangible forces of custom, of a law devoid of coercive sanctions, or of the royal conscience, the latter too likely to fall discreetly silent before the ultimata of brute facts. (Cf. Chrimes, *Constitutional Ideas*, p. 322.) How he conceived the problem, and what he proposed to do by way of solving it are much more difficult questions to answer. He never confronted the problem as men of a later day did because, unlike them, he could not see it as one involving positive, institutional controls within a monarchy that was constitutional in a distinctly modern sense (C. H. McIlwain, *The Growth of Political Thought in the West*, p. 358).

[48] Part I, chap. xxvii.

[49] Chap. viii. See also C. F. Arrowood, 'Sir John Fortescue on the Education of Rulers', *Speculum* X (1935), 404–410.

[50] Chaps. x and xii; cf. chap. xiii.

flow.[51] It was to be the servant of the king, but strictly in his capacity as servant of the people. In fact, however, it was not a strong administration that he feared—that could to his way of thinking lead only to better government—but a despotic one, that is, one that recognized no limitation of human law. Conversely, it was a limited monarchy he valued, limited, that is, by law, not a controlled one. His ideally balanced *dominium politicum et regale* encompassed all he felt to be necessary to the government of man: its 'political' side gave legal protection to the rights of the subject; its 'regal 'side afforded the king all he required to carry out his duty of providing the active means of protection both from external aggressors and from domestic transgressors.

He seems to have had no clear idea of the creation of new law, in the sense of establishing principles that had no precedent, or of implementing policies calculated to shape as well as to reform society.[52] Hence he has much less to say about parliament than we of a later age, accustomed still to consider the development of parliamentary government the *leitmotif* of English history, are likely to expect. He grants parliament unique legislative authority, as far as that concept had meaning for him; and the principle of assent, as expressed by the estates of the realm in parliament, is fundamental to his thought.[53] Yet the legislation he has in mind is apparently confined either to the granting of subsidies and therefore related to his idea that property rights are vested in the law of nature and cannot legitimately be overridden without consent expressed in parliament, or else measures of a remedial sort, still closely related to the judicial activity of the 'high court'. In either case, legislation was declaratory of the law of nature, not supplementary to it. Parliament may well have appeared to Fortescue, as to the author of *Mum and the Sothsegger* at the beginning of the Lancastrian era, to have derived its importance less from its legislative or judicial functions than from its part in providing the information and advice, the counsel of the many, without which the king could not be said to rule 'politically' at all.[54] And that function, it should be noted, could be performed more effectively by that permanent, that

[51] *De natura*, part I, chap. xxiii; *Governance*, chap. viii. On the early sixteenth century theory, in which the council was considered as much a check against tyranny as a tool of irresponsible government, see F. L. Baumer, *The Early Tudor Theory of Kingship* (New Haven, 1939), pp. 180 ff. Cf. Chrimes, *Constitutional Ideas*, p. 322, in which a contrary view of Fortescue's conception of the function of the council is expressed.

[52] Chrimes, *Constitutional Ideas*, p. 203.

[53] *Governance*, chaps xiv and xix; *De laudibus*, chaps. xviii and xxvi.

[54] *De natura*, part I, chap. xxiii.

'continual' body of picked men who would make up Fortescue's reformed council. Almost a century later, Sir Thomas Smith was to add to Fortescue's picture of the English constitution the single feature of a truly legislative parliament. The resulting difference measures, in one way at least, the distance between medieval and Renaissance attitudes toward government.[55]

Fortescue could hardly have foreseen a conflict, such as that which later took place, between the king and his council on the one hand and parliament and the courts on the other. Conflict would occur only when and if the king overstepped his legal limitations and trespassed upon the properties of his people, and that, in circumstances Fortescue considered normal, there was little reason for him to do. Only with the utmost use of the historical imagination can those who have been raised in the era of sovereign power appreciate with what complacency, and withal how logically, given the assumption of a static social order, the fifteenth-century Englishman could expect good government to flow from an administration purged of faction, wealthy enough to live of its own, and thus made capable of preserving peace and maintaining justice. The utopian enthusiasm that illuminates the last chapter of the *Governance* is a tribute less to Fortescue's buoyant faith in the virtues of English government than to his extremely limited, thoroughly medieval view of the scope and nature of all government.

Fortescue's place in the history of political consciousness may best be appreciated if it is recognized that his grasp of political reality had far outrun the conceptual equipment he had inherited. Hence he became at times involved in a certain duality of thought, indeed in what later generations would consider inconsistencies. Convinced that the English monarchy derived its validity from the law of nature—so much so that he made it difficult for any other kind of monarch to rule legitimately—he nevertheless retained a real respect for the civil law and appears to have recognized in it a serious rival to the English common law. He was able to see the dangers of despotic rule to the welfare of Englishmen, yet saw no reason to control the king, but merely to reëmphasize the legal limits to his actions. Unusually aware of the forces conditioning human action, possessed indeed of a lively sense of history, he could not escape the assumption of a static social organism. Practical in his analysis of

[55] *De republica Anglorum*, Book II, chap. i. See also G. H. Morse, 'Change and Continuity in the Tudor Constitution', *Speculum* XXII (1947), 18–28.

government, shrewd in his estimate of political motive, he gave small attention to the techniques of statecraft. Realistic in his appraisal of the society in which he lived, he had little regard for factual accuracy. Yet his limitations, no less than his insights, enhance his usefulness to any one who would chart the transition from medieval to modern England; nor should they obscure the fact that he came, indeed, to the very threshold of modern thought.

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Agrippa in Renaissance Italy: the Esoteric Tradition

THE curious northerner who had been attracted by the culture of Renaissance Italy and who sooner or later managed to fulfill his desire to visit that land in person was certainly one of the most interesting and most significant types of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century. Historians have found his type interesting and significant partly because they desire to understand the spread of intellectual influences from one region to another, and notably from Italy to northern Europe, and partly because these visitors from the north through their writings give insights into intellectual conditions in Italy itself. The type of the humanistic visitor from the north was already well established by the time that Erasmus began his three-year residence in the peninsula in 1506, for Erasmus was only following the example of many of his humanistic acquaintances, especially his English friends, the Oxford reformers. Indeed, one recent study of Erasmus' Italian connections suggests that, by his time, the great day for such cultural contacts was already ended and that a mature humanist like Erasmus had little to learn from the Italian Renaissance, which had already passed its intellectual zenith with the premature passing of the great Florentine generation in the 1490s.[1]

Nevertheless, the flow of visitors from the north continued; Italy still had much to offer, if not to an already mature Erasmus, then certainly to younger and less sophisticated men. Among those who visited Italy from the north during these pre-Reformation years were many Germans, like Ulrich von Hutten, whose budding German patriotism was stimulated by his brief residence in Italy,[2] and Agrippa von Nettesheim (1486–1535), whose much longer Italian residence, from about 1511

[1] Augustin Renaudet, *Érasme et l'Italie* (Geneva, 1954), pp. 46, 75.

[2] Hajo Holborn, *Ulrich von Hutten and the German Reformation*, tr. Roland H. Bainton (New Haven, 1937), pp. 45–46.

until early 1518, is the subject of the present study. The special interest of Agrippa's stay in the peninsula stems partly from the length of his residence there and the close personal contacts he had with Italians in the university towns of Pavia, where he lectured in philosophy and married an Italian wife,[3] and Turin, and also in other places of northern Italy, notably Milan, and the court of the Marquis of Monferrato at Casale. Still more important, however, is the nature of Agrippa's intellectual contacts with Italy. Unlike his more famous predecessor in that country, Erasmus, Agrippa was attracted less by philological studies than by the contacts he could form with those for whom the widely pursued rediscovery of ancient knowledge meant above all the study of esoteric lore, the writings of an occult antiquity which was very generally believed to have possessed learning so profound and so true that it was of great value even for the understanding of Christian religion. In short, Agrippa's contacts were with circles given over to the study of such traditions as the Hermetic literature and the Cabala. This occultist study, almost always intimately associated with the practice of magic and divination, was carried on by scholars who regarded themselves, not without considerable justification, as heirs of the esoteric interests of Marsilio Ficino and Giovanni Pico della Mirandola in the preceding century.[4] Agrippa was able not merely to get in touch with such Italian scholars, but even to make himself the leader of an admiring circle of occultists, both Italians and other foreigners like himself. True, he was a barbarian from the north, as he modestly admitted; yet, he reminded his Italian audience, 'even barbarians are rational men'.[5] He won by his lectures, his conversation, and his writings a reputation which was still alive several years after his return to northern Europe.[6]

Agrippa's Italian experience was one which he always cherished; and when in 1518 he wrote a letter of advice to the young legal scholar Claudius Cantiuncula, who was winning distinction at the University of

[3] Agrippa's wife is first mentioned in a letter dated 24 November 1515, printed as *Epist.* I, 48, in his *Opera* (Lugduni, n.d.), II, 715. Henceforth, this extensive correspondence will be cited by the number of the letter as printed in *Opera.*

[4] Renaudet, *op. cit.*, p. 51; Paola Zambelli, 'Agrippa di Nettesheim, *Dialogus de homine*', *Rivista critica di storia della filosofia* XIII (1958), 47–71 (henceforth cited as Zambelli); for Christian cabalism in this whole period, see Joseph Leon Blau, *The Christian Interpretation of the Cabala in the Renaissance* (New York, 1944).

[5] Agrippa, *Oratio in praelectione . . . Trismegisti*, in *Opera*, II, 1076: 'Quod si quem vestrum scandalizet, barbarum hominem in Lizeto [*sic*] gymnasio bonas literas interpretari, is sciat barbaros etiam esse rationales, et frui coelo. . . .'

[6] Amicus ad Agrippam, Strasbourg, 1523, *Epist.* III, 55.

Basel, he concluded with the recommendation to visit Italy, after which 'every other country will seem vile, if you compare it to this one'.[7] On one occasion, despite the fact that Agrippa had studied both at Cologne and at Paris, he was described as 'an Italian by education'.[8] Certainly, therefore, one need not be surprised to find strong traces of Italian intellectual influences in Agrippa's writings, most notably in those written during and immediately after his actual residence in the peninsula, such as his *Dialogus de homine*, his *De triplici ratione cognoscendi Deum*, and his *De originali peccato*.

Yet it would be hazardous indeed to contend that the Italian residence was the truly determining factor in the development of Agrippa's thought. Study of his writings suggests that his experience there enriched his resources for pursuing his intellectual interests but that those interests themselves antedated his period of residence in Italy.

The interests in question were principally concerned with esoteric religious traditions, chiefly the Cabala and the Hermetic writings, and also with certain Christian writings, such as those of the pseudo-Dionysius, which by their large Neoplatonic content had strong affinities with the esoteric works. Such interests long antedated Agrippa's Italian period. It is evident from his earliest surviving letters, written to fellow-students at the University of Paris in 1507, that Agrippa was already a central figure in a 'sodality' of adepts of the occult arts, a group which included students from Spain, Italy, and France, some of whose names have been identified, at least tentatively, with those of Charles de Bouelles, Germain de Brie, and Symphorien Champier, three important figures in early French humanism.[9] Thanks in part to the influence exerted in his favor by such occultist friends, and notably by Antoine de Vergy, archbishop of Besançon, Agrippa was enabled to appear at the University of Dôle in Burgundy, where in 1509 he lectured on Johann

[7] *Epist.* II, 14: 'Demum hortor te, ut post visam Germaniam ac Galliam, totamque illam barbarorum nostrorum colluviem, tandem in Italiam te conferas: quam si aliquando apertis oculis introspexeris, omnis alia patria turpis vilisque erit, si ad hanc contuleris.'

[8] *Epist.* III, 15: 'Agrippa, inquit, est oriundus Colonia, educatione Italus. . . .' The author is the later Protestant leader, Wolfgang Fabricius Capito. Agrippa may have held academic degrees from Italian universities, for he claimed to hold doctorates in both laws and in medicine. See, for example, *Epist.* II, 19.

[9] See *Epist.* I, 1–21, for information on members, on activities, and on initiation into the group. Henry Morley, *Cornelius Agrippa: The Life of Henry Cornelius Agrippa von Nettesheim, Doctor and Knight, Commonly Known as a Magician* (London, 1856), I, 54–55, makes such identifications, though they are, like many of his conclusions about Agrippa, highly conjectural.

Reuchlin's cabalistic book, *De verbo mirifico*. Agrippa's hopes for continued academic success at Dôle were crushed, however, by the action of Jean Catilinet, provincial superior of the Franciscans in Burgundy, who by denouncing Agrippa as a 'judaizing heretic' in a sermon preached at court in Flanders, prejudiced the minds of the authorities against him.[10] Agrippa's defense of his own orthodoxy was written in 1510 at London, where he had gone on some sort of secret business, but where he continued his study of religious traditions by cultivating the acquaintance of the influential Biblical humanist, John Colet.[11] Furthermore, in the same year, Agrippa must have been completing the first version of his great *summa* of magical and esoteric knowledge, *De occulta philosophia libri tres*, which he dedicated to the learned German scholar, Johannes Trithemius of Spanheim, in 1510.[12]

Thus, although only twenty-five years old when he arrived in Italy, probably in 1511,[13] Agrippa was already a person with a considerable reputation for learning in the occult sciences, the author of a widely circulated (though still unprinted) treatise on occult philosophy, of a course of lectures on the Cabala, of a commentary on the epistles of St. Paul, and of a defense of the orthodoxy of cabalistic studies. He had also written a paradoxical treatise, much edited and translated later in the century, on the superiority of women, *De nobilitate et praecellentia foeminei sexus*, with which he had tried, though in vain, to win the favor of the governor of Burgundy and of the Low Countries, Margaret of Austria.

The occasion for Agrippa's coming to Italy was not scholarship, but

[10] *Expostulatio super expositione sua in librum de verbo mirifico cum Joanne Catilineti fratrum Franciscanorum per Burgundiam provinciali ministro, sacrae theologiae doctori*, in *Opera*, II, 509: 'haereticum judaisantem, qui in Christianas scholas induxerim scelestissimam, damnatam ac prohibitam cabale artem, qui contemptis sanctis patribus et catholicis doctoribus praeferam rabinos Iudaeorum, et contorqueam Sacras literas ad artes haereticas et thalmuth Iudaeorum.'

[11] Agrippa, *De beatissimae Annae monogamia* . . . (n.p., 1534), fol. B6^{v}.

[12] The dedication is printed as *Epist.* I, 23, and in *De occulta philosophia* (Cologne, 1533) fol. aa3^{r}–aa3^{v}.

[13] A *terminus ad quem* is set by *Epist.* I, 29, which shows that Agrippa was at Borgo Lavezzaro on 5 April 1512. Since he claimed to have participated in the Council of Pisa, he must have been in Italy between its opening session in November 1511 and its final session in Italy in April 1512. In 1532, Agrippa wrote to Mary of Hungary, governor of the Low Countries, that he served in Italy for seven years (*Epist.* VII, 21). Agrippa's arrival in Italy in 1511 did not mark his first visit there. Having become separated from his Italian friend Landulphus in 1508 during an obscure expedition into Spain, Agrippa and a companion made a hurried trip to Naples, but, failing to find Agrippa's friend there as expected, they promptly returned along the Ligurian coast to France. See *Epist.* I, 10.

service, probably, as he claimed, military in nature, to the Emperor Maximilian, who at this period was allied with the French in opposition to Venice and to Pope Julius II. The letters of Agrippa in this period show him first of all engaged in bringing a shipment of gold from Germany to Verona by way of Trent. The precise nature of his other services to Maximilian is uncertain, but Agrippa's own claim to have fought and to have won knighthood in battle is not quite so far-fetched as his chief biographer contends.[14] There is an air of secrecy in Agrippa's letters to his Italian friends that suggests that part of his service was as an agent engaged in the complex political negotiations which were then in progress, as the unstable German emperor first supported the French and their schismatic Council of Pisa and then shifted gradually to the side of the pope. Certainly Agrippa claims to have had contact with the abortive council through the person of its most distinguished adherent, Bernardino Carvajal, cardinal of Santa Croce. This relationship could hardly have begun before the autumn of 1511, when the council opened, and must be dated before June 1512, when the schismatic council, having already taken shelter at Milan, moved its sessions first to Asti and then to Lyons, where it gradually passed out of existence.[15] At this period, Maximilian was engaged in negotiations for a truce with Venice, and his drift to the side of Pope Julius II was already evident in his granting permission for the Swiss allies of the papacy to cross his territories in April 1512, and in his withdrawal from French service of all the German infantry who had formed the core of the French army and had made a great contribution to such earlier French victories as the Battle of Ravenna (11 April 1512). Agrippa may have had some part in these negotiations with the Swiss and the papacy, if not in 1512, then the next year. A papal brief dated at Rome 12 July 1513 commends Agrippa for his

[14] *De beatissimae Annae monogamia*, fol. B6^{v}: 'Exinde a Maximiliano Caesare contra Venetos destinatus, in ipsis castris, hostiles inter turbas plebemque cruentam. . . .' He repeated the claim in his letter of 1532 to Mary of Hungary (*Epist.* VII, 21): 'hinc avo tuo divo Maximiliano Cesari a prima aetate destinatus, aliquandiu illi a minoribus secretis fui. deinde in Italicis castris septennio illius stipendio militavi: postea varia legatione functus, nunc literis, nunc militia. . . .' He certainly did not spend all of his seven years in Italy soldiering for the emperor. Cf. also *Epist.* II, 19, and *Oratio in praelectione . . . Trismegisti*, in *Opera*, II, 1076. Agrippa's chief biographer is on this, as on so many points, hypercritical. See Auguste Prost, *Les sciences et les arts occultes au XVI siècle: Corneille Agrippa, sa vie et ses oeuvres* (Paris, 1881–1882), I, 221–223; II, 44–70, 436–439.

[15] *De beatissimae Annae monogamia*, fol. B6^{v}. Ludwig von Pastor, *The History of the Popes, from the Close of the Middle Ages*, tr. Frederick Ignatius Antrobus *et al.* (St. Louis, 1894–1953), VI, 415.

devotion to the Holy See, as reported to the new pope, Leo X, by Ennio Filonardi, bishop of Veroli and nuncio to the Swiss.[16]

Whatever the precise nature of Agrippa's services to the emperor and to the new pope, the important thing is that the excitement and adventure of Maximilian's Italian policies had brought Agrippa, as they did Hutten about the same time, into Italy. Agrippa's itinerary for the year 1512 can be traced with a fair amount of precision. His letters show that after reaching Verona he must have traveled westward and must have spent much of that year in the vicinity of Novara, at Pavia, at Casale Monferrato, at Vercelli, and at Milan.[17] The same letters show that Agrippa did not devote all his time and energy during 1512 to his official duties, but was already in contact with occultist students, with whom he exchanged cabalistic books (unfortunately not further specified), and who did their best to be of service to him.

In particular, there is evidence to show that Agrippa had appeared in that year as a lecturer at the University of Pavia, probably in the spring, that he was in Pavia during June, when French power collapsed amidst popular uprisings against their rule throughout the Milanese territories, and that, after having been briefly held captive by Swiss troops in early July, he finally decided to leave Pavia and the Milanese territory and secure the patronage of the ruler of Monferrato. This decision was taken some time in September 1512.[18] For whatever reason, however, Agrippa did not settle at Casale as planned; the surviving letters for the years 1513 and 1514, while very few, suggest that Agrippa had been engaged on some sort of business with the Swiss previous to March 1514, and had even been in Switzerland and perhaps in touch with the papal legate, Filonardi.[19] These letters, together with the papal brief of July 1513, suggest that Agrippa must still have been in official service of some sort, possibly still as an agent of the emperor, although there is no reference to Maximilian in these letters. It is certain that Agrippa spent much of these years in Lombardy. In August 1514, an anonymous correspondent was writing to him of plans for a trip to Rome. That such a trip to south and central Italy actually occurred is shown by a letter of Agrippa written from Brindisi on 5 February 1515, by which date he was already plan-

[16] *Epist.* I, 38. Pastor, *op. cit.*, VI, 412–414.

[17] *Epist.* I, 27–38.

[18] *Epist.* I, 27, 31, 32. Cf. *Memorie e documenti per la storia dell'Università di Pavia e degli uomini più illustri che v'insegnarono* (Pavia, 1878), I, 169.

[19] *Epist.* I, 40, 44.

ning a speedy return to the north.[20] The purpose of the trip to Rome and to Brindisi remains unclear. The unsettled state of life suggested by these travels is further proved by his continued search for new patrons. His friends were trying to win for him the assistance of Alessandro Laudi, count of Ripalta, whom he had met at Piacenza.[21] These negotiations were still pending in the early fall of 1514, before the trip to the south, but evidently they did not come to success.

With his return to northern Italy early in 1515, Agrippa began the most important part of his Italian residence. This was the period when, thanks perhaps in part to his marriage, his existence became more settled, and his numerous contacts with Italian students of the occult assumed a more regular form, as he settled first at Pavia as a lecturer on the *Pimander* of Hermes Trismegistus, and later, after the French invasion of Lombardy had made that city unsafe and had caused him loss by looting, at Casale Monferrato.

What were Agrippa's contacts at the University of Pavia? There is no clear evidence on this point, for no letters exist for his period of residence there; but earlier letters show that Agrippa had already, while in Switzerland, been associated with an unnamed agent of Massimiliano Sforza, whom the Swiss maintained as duke of Milan between 1512 and 1515. Thus court influence may well have helped Agrippa's cause. This conclusion is supported by the only surviving part of Agrippa's lectures at Pavia, the inaugural lecture, in which he fulsomely praised the fumbling, inept Sforza duke, who was not present, as well as the marquis of Mantua, Francesco Gonzaga, who attended.[22]

With only two exceptions, nothing whatever about the names of the occultist enthusiasts with whom Agrippa associated at this time can be learned from his correspondence. The recent Italian editor of a rediscovered work of Agrippa's Italian period, the *Dialogus de homine*, suggests that Agrippa must have known of Paolo Ricci, the converted Jew who was an important religious controversialist and a translator of the cabalistic *Sha'are Orah* and of a part of the Talmudic literature. But even this influence could have been exercised only through his writings, not in person, for Ricci, a German by birth, had left Pavia by 1514 for Augsburg and by 1516 had become physician to the Emperor Maximilian.[23]

[20] *Epist.* I, 42, 43, 46.

[21] *Epist.* I, 42–43, 45.

[22] *Epist.* I, 44; *Oratio in praelectione . . . Trismegisti*, in *Opera*, II, 1077.

[23] Zambelli, pp. 52–53; for the date of Ricci's removal to Germany, see *Opus epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami*, ed. P. S. Allen *et al.* (Oxford, 1906–1947), II, 500n.

Yet if the names of the associates of Agrippa at Pavia escape the grasp of modern researchers, the character of the circles in which he moved there in 1515 and later at Casale Monferrato can be determined with some precision. Agrippa's associates appear to have been a tightly-knit group of persons, virtually a secret society in the definiteness of its organization,[24] all of whom shared certain common interests. In a negative sense, their common interest was a keen dissatisfaction with the officially accepted body of theological and philosophical science, which they felt to be both fruitless and wicked. Yet they were not, in their repudiation of scholastic theology and philosophy, intending to turn against what they conceived to be the Christian religion, for the positive, constructive side of their common interests lay in a trust that religion and philosophy could be restored from corruption to sound health. The proper way was by a return to the simplicity and purity of an earlier age, to the primitive church. In this belief, of course, Agrippa and his friends shared the common reform program of the humanism of their day, typified by such great figures as Erasmus and Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples.

What distinguished Agrippa's friends at Pavia, at Casale, and even earlier in France was that they believed that the way to such a restoration of pure and holy theology and philosophy was pointed out by certain writings which were being brought to light and studied in their own day, after centuries of neglect. These rediscovered books were in every case treatises which claimed to teach profound and ancient secrets, stemming ultimately from a divine source. In short, these newly recovered sources were esoteric. In the works of Agrippa the governing idea is the faith

[24] Zambelli, p. 53, argues that this group of Agrippa's followers was a definite and organized society. Elsewhere, in *Testi umanistici su l'Ermetismo*, ed. E. Garin *et al.* (Rome, 1955), pp. 110–111, she argues that Agrippa's warnings in the surviving bits of his public lectures that the profane should be kept at a distance is to be taken literally as a warning to keep the studies which they were conducting secret from the uninitiated, who might cause them trouble with church authorities in spite of all of Agrippa's repeated assertions that he submits all his work to the judgment of the church. See his *Oratio in praelectione convivii Platonis*, in *Opera*, II, 1062: 'Absint autem hac veneranda lectione, quicunque terrenis obvoluti sordibus, Baccho atque illi hortorum deo mancipati, Amorem ipsum divinum munus, porcorum atque canum ritu in lutum prosternunt.' Cf. II, 1072, for the fear of being denounced for false teaching. Cf. also *Oratio in praelectione . . . Trismegisti*, in *Opera*, II, 1080–1081: 'Vos igitur illustrissimi candidissimique viri, vos qui virtutem colitis, vos ad mea tantum dicta aures adhibite, animosque intendite vestros: Contra, qui sanctas leges contemnitis, hinc vos effugite, et procul hinc miseri, procul ite prophani. Vos autem qui divina amatis, quique rerum arcanarum estis percupidi, et circa abditioris philosophiae symbola, ac mirabilium dei operum reconditas vires, plenissimasque mysteriorum antiqui seculi traditiones curiosi estis exploratores, vos inquam adeste foeliciter. . . .'

that the Hermetic writings, long neglected but now restored through the work of Ficino and others, and the cabalistic writings, the restoration of which had begun with Pico and was continuing with the work of Reuchlin and Paolo Ricci, were the gateway to true wisdom. Ancient and occult writings, long neglected by an ignorant and impious humanity, would bring men back from intellectual pride and intellectual despair to a humble acknowledgment of the goodness of God. Far from undermining religious faith, as the vain and contentious learning of the traditional schools did, this newly recovered but ancient and venerable knowledge would provide the key to a profound and truly religious understanding of the truth revealed in the Christian Scriptures. Both Hermetic and cabalistic books, Agrippa and his friends believed, were from God; both traditions would provide new insights into the real meaning of Biblical texts. Agrippa and his friends taught that 'even the Gospel, like the Mosaic law, has one meaning on the surface for the more simple, another in its core, which has been separately revealed to the perfect'. Thus Agrippa regarded his lectures at Pavia on the Hermetic writings as being truly 'theological', for they expounded books which would open the way to an understanding of this inner meaning of the Bible.[25]

The most important benefit of this recovery of the true interpretation of Scripture, and of the accompanying reconstruction of human knowledge on its basis, Agrippa maintained, would be eternal happiness, eternal salvation. Ignorance of God since the sin of Adam he regarded as the source of death and of human misery, for God had withdrawn the light which till then had illuminated man and which had prevented the decomposition of the essentially compound, and so essentially mortal, human nature. Having turned away from the knowledge of eternity, having preferred his own pitiful rational light to the powerful illumination of God, man had become not only mortal, but also the prisoner of his own unbridled lusts, which could never be satisfied, and which reduced him to the miserable, restless, and transitory existence of a brute.[26] But

[25] *De triplici ratione cognoscendi Deum*, cap. v, in *Opera*, II, 493: 'Habet etiam Evangelium, quemadmodum Lex Mosaica, aliud in cortice propositum imbecillioribus, aliud in medulla, quod segregatim revelatum est perfectis. . . .'; *De beatissimae Annae monogamia*, fol. B6^{v}.

[26] *Dialogus de homine*, Lyon, Bibliothèque Municipale, Fonds du Palais des Arts, MS. no. 48, fols. 56^{r}–56^{v}. Since I have worked from a microfilm of this manuscript, I cite its pagination for references to the *Dialogus*. The page numbers of the original manuscript are also given by Zambelli in her edition of this text, pp. 57–71. Cf. *De originali peccato*, in *Opera*, II, 554, 558, and *De triplici ratione*, in *Opera*, II, 481–482.

if, by knowledge gained through the occult revelations, withheld from the vulgar mob but granted to the truly wise and virtuous in the form of the Cabala and the Hermetic books, man could restore his knowledge of the divine truth, then he could regain justice and virtue and happiness.[27] The occult writings, therefore, offered man knowledge, and through it, both happiness in this life and eternal beatitude in the world to come.

This theme is evident in all of Agrippa's works of the Italian period, but most directly in his longest and most significant treatise of these years, *De triplici ratione cognoscendi Deum*. The object of this entire treatise is to show how man may win the desired knowledge of God. As the title suggests, there are three ways, each being more nearly perfect than the preceding one. The first way is the knowledge of God from nature. This knowledge is sufficient to make inexcusable the neglect of the divine, even by a pagan who never heard the name of Christ. It can lead man to the two essential beliefs of any religion, piety toward God and justice toward his fellow man.[28] Yet in the opinion of Agrippa, this knowledge of God from His creatures is imperfect, and can never lead to true goodness and true happiness. It is only preparatory to the second path to the knowledge of God, the Mosaic law. A traditional and hardly original assertion, to be sure. But Agrippa goes on to deny that the literal meaning of the law is the true one. 'Nothing could be more absurd',[29] he writes, than the law if taken only literally. But when God revealed

[27] *Oratio in praelectione . . . Trismegisti*, in *Opera*, II, 1079–1080: 'Ejus titulus est Pimander, sive de Sapientia et potestate dei. Est autem liber iste elegantia sermonis refertissimus, copia sententiarum gravissimus, plenus gratiae et decoris, plenus sapientiae et mysteriorum. Continet enim in se vetustissimae theologiae profundissima mysteria, ac utriusque philosophiae latentia arcana, quae omnia non tam continet quam explicat: Docet enim nos, Quis deus, Quis mundus, Quid mens, Quid uterque daemon, Quid anima, Quis providentiae ordo, Quae et unde fati necessitas, Quae naturae lex, Quod hominum phas, Quae religio, Quae sacra instituta, ritus, phana, observationes sacraque mysteria. instruit nos praeterea de cognitione sui ipsius, de ascensu intellectus, de arcanis precibus, de divino connubio. . . .' *De triplici ratione*, cap. II, in *Opera*, II, 482: 'Omnium itaque rerum cognoscere et amare principium ipsum omnium creatorem Deum, haec summa pietas, haec summa justitia, haec summa sapientia, summaque hominis felicitas est.'

[28] *Ibid.*, cap. III, in *Opera*, II, 486: 'Sed frustra cognoscimus Deum, nisi illum rite colamus, et legitime cum hominibus vivamus. . . . Haec duo praecepta ad salutem necessaria sunt, suntque fons omnis boni: horum primum pietatis, alterum justitiae est.' How similar in sound to the 'reasonable' Christianity of a man like John Locke in the seventeenth century, and yet how different in its context!

[29] *Ibid.*, cap. IV, in *Opera*, II, 489: 'Quod si solum literalem sensum legis apprehendas, absque spiritu futurae lucis, veritatis et perfectionis, nihil erit lege magis ridiculum, et anilis fabulae. . . .'

this law to Moses, He also revealed a secret interpretation of it, not to be divulged to the masses, but to be restricted to the wise few. This knowledge was eventually written down in the Jewish Cabala, while Hebrew contacts with ancient Egypt explain why the same truths are found in the Hermetic books. This true and profound interpretation of the Pentateuch, Agrippa insists, points directly to the coming of the Messiah in the person of Jesus Christ, and so to the third way of knowing God. The first two ways to God are a mere preparation for the Christian revelation. But this revelation, like the Mosaic one, must be interpreted in the light of the esoteric writings, which will reveal to the wise its hidden inner meaning. This general notion, that the Hebrew revelation, as understood in the light of the Cabala, led directly into the Christian religion, actually led a number of Jewish scholars in Agrippa's own time to be converted to Christianity. Among them were the famous Paolo Ricci, the translator of the *Sha'are Orah*, and Agrippa's intimate friend at Casale, Agostino Ricci, whom the French humanist Symphorien Champier believed, perhaps correctly, to be brothers.[30]

If knowledge of God and eternal happiness were the most important fruits of the studies carried on by Agrippa and his friends, there were nevertheless also immediate and practical advantages to be gained from their occultist brotherhood. Agrippa's own biography shows clearly that one of these benefits was simply the mutual aid which persons bound by the close ties of occultist fraternity offered one another. From his days at Paris through his Italian years and even down to his return to his native Cologne in the 1530s, it was Agrippa's occultist brethren who sought to win the patronage of princes for him and who offered him shelter and encouragement.

Far more important, however, was the practical utility which Agrippa believed would come from the knowledge which he and his friends pursued. The enlightened soul, the soul which had attained a true understanding of God's revelation, would not only regain mastery over its own body but would also win power over all nature. Thus the study of the Cabala and the Hermetic literature led into the study of magic—white magic, of course, involving the aid not of demons but of good

[30] Zambelli, p. 53. That Agostino Ricci shared the cabalistic interests of Paolo and of his friend Agrippa also appears from the title of a book of his own: *De motu octaue sphere: opus mathematica atque philosophia plenum, vbi tam antiquorum quam iuniorum errores luce clarius demonstrantur; in quo et quamplurima platonicorum et antique magie (quam cabalam hebrei dicunt) dogmata videre licet intellectu suauissima* (In oppido Tridini, 1513).

spirits and of the occult powers of the soul itself. 'For the basis of all miracles is knowledge, and the more things we understand and know, the more readily and efficaciously do we work.'[31] It was precisely this power over nature which Adam had lost by original sin, but which the purified soul, the *magus*, now could regain.[32] This magical knowledge had long been associated with the Hermetic tradition, and while the main current of medieval Jewish cabalism had been hostile to any such attempt to associate mystical illumination with magic, yet the cabalists had firmly believed that the enlightened soul did possess great power. They had not been entirely free from the corrupting attempt to make use of this knowledge for magical practices.[33] It is worth recalling that Agrippa had already produced an early version of his *De occulta philosophia*, his treatise on magic. And there is conclusive evidence that this work (although not printed in its entirety until 1533, and then in a much expanded form) was circulating in manuscript among Agrippa's former disciples at Pavia in 1523.[34]

Agrippa's belief that the truly illuminated soul could perform works of magic which seemed miraculous even led him into an attack on the corruption of the church in his own day. The early church, he argued, had been aided by the miraculous works of the apostles and of their im-

[31] *Dialogus de homine*, MS. fol. 53^{v}: 'Omnium enim miraculorum radix cognitio est quanto enim plura intelligimus ac cognoscimus, tanto maiora et promptius, et efficatius operamur. . . .'

[32] *De triplici ratione*, cap. V, in *Opera*, II, 492: 'Et talis anima quotiens dimissis actionibus in seipsam regreditur, et ad aeternum Deum contemplandum se flectit: tunc nullo amplius terrenorum impetu torpens, sed Patre luminum fulta, ad sublimem divinae cognitionis ascendit apicem, ubi propheticis oraculis continuo impletur, saepe etiam ad miracula perpetranda Dei instrumentum eligitur, cujus orationes etiam circa publicas mundi ipsius mutationes non fiunt irritae. . . . Magnum certe miraculum est homo Christianus, qui in mundo constitutus, supra mundum dominatur, operationesque similes efficit ipsi Creatori mundi, quae opera vulgo miracula appellantur, quorum omnium radix et fundamentum fides est in Iesum Christum.' Cf. p. 493.

[33] Gershom Gerhard Scholem, *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism* (New York, 1946), pp. 99–100, 144–145.

[34] *Epist.* III, 55: 'Papiae etenim te docente diebus illis, quando ego nobilissimam illam academiam denuo repetii, hi qui mecum stabant, miras ingenii tui ubertates de te praedicabant, bonarum artium, scilicet philosophiae peripateticae, medicae artis, et totius naturae secretarium, monstrabant, et nonnulla astrologica indicia [*sic*], imagines et alia naturae mysteria a te fabrefacta: quibus tam abunde oblectabar, quod nunquam cessavi tuum deplangere discessum. Videntibus itaque aliis confratribus meis tam arduum cordis affectum, librum, cui titulus de Magia naturali Cornelii Agrippae offerebant, in quo fons et origo totius philosophicae veritatis adapertissimis rivulis scaturiebat. . . .' Cf. *Epist.* III, 77, for another person who came from Italy to Lyons because of Agrippa's fame for occult learning.

mediate successors, who were able to perform these miracles precisely because they did possess the pure and spiritual knowledge of the revelation contained in the Bible. Properly, Agrippa felt, the prelates of the church ought always to be gifted with such wonder-working powers based on true knowledge. If present-day theologians and prelates were unable to perform any such miracles (and they were unable), that inability was merely further proof of their corruption and lack of faith. Their error was that they founded their knowledge on reason instead of on faith. They were adulterating the Word of God with their own attempts to bend it to the demands of human reason.[35]

Agrippa's writings during this Italian period demonstrate one further belief which he and his friends at Pavia and Casale shared. Because of the darkness caused by Adam's sin, the human mind cannot know the true nature of God by reason,[36] but only by esoteric revelation. The use of reason in an attempt to get this knowledge about God has only led man into sin. In his little book *De originali peccato*, written either at the very end of his stay in Italy or else, more probably, shortly after he moved to the imperial city of Metz early in 1518, Agrippa suggests that in an allegorical sense, Adam in the Book of Genesis represents Faith, which is misled by Eve, the personification of Reason, which in turn has been misled by sensory experience, the Serpent. Truth in religion is based on faith, not on reason, Agrippa argues, for God is above all human knowledge, and 'therefore in order truly to know Him, dialectics and philosophy are unable to ascend, being checked by reason, which is hostile to holy faith'. 'For only faith is the instrument and means by which alone we can know God.' The rational theology of his own day, on the other hand, Agrippa regards as vain and contentious learning.[37] There is no

[35] *De triplici ratione*, cap. v, in *Opera*, II, 493, 494–495. The latter passage reads, in part: 'Sed sunt quidam alii qui linguis loquuntur, humanis scientiis inflati, imo qui vita et lingua de Deo mentiri non erubescunt, qui suo spiritu omnem Scripturam ad sua mendacia impudentissime torquent, ac mysteria divina ad humanae rationis methodum legunt, inventisque capitibus suis glossis sacrilegis, adulterato verbo Dei, sua portenta stabiliunt, ac sanctum Theologiae nomen furto et rapina sibi temere usurpant, solisque operam dant contentionibus, et rixosis disputationibus. . . .'

[36] *De triplici ratione*, cap. III, in *Opera*, II, 482.

[37] *De originali peccato*, in *Opera*, II, 554–555. *De triplici ratione*, cap. v, in *Opera*, II, 491: 'Ad illum igitur vere cognoscendum, dialectica et Philosophia nequeunt ascendere, impeditae ratione, quae est inimica sanctae fidei.' *Opera* reads 'queunt', but I have emended it to 'nequeunt' on the basis of the reading in MS. Lat. 16,625 of the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris. See appendix. *Ibid.*: 'Sola enim fides instrumentum est et medium, qua sola possumus Deum cognoscere. . . .' Cf. also p. 496.

question which modern theologians do not presume to settle by reason, or rather, by reason to involve in a labyrinth of futile reasonings and partisan quarrels.

What is worse, if there are any who devote themselves to this ancient theology and religion, they are called madmen, ignorant, irreligious, sometimes even heretics, and (as Hermes says) are held in hatred, and even the threat of capital punishment is held over them.[38]

Thus Agrippa's attack on the use of reason in theology had led him to a defense of all the Biblical humanists of his time against denunciations by their scholastic enemies. Like the other humanists of his time, he upheld the ideal of a return to the pure, undefiled faith of the early church, in opposition to the contentious wrangling of scholastic theology. To the proud rationalism of the professional theologians, Agrippa and his friends contrasted the firm and humble faith of the true believer, who praises God for illuminating man by grace, and who prepares himself for enlightenment with vigils, fasts, and a life lived in imitation of Christ. Only to such persons, Agrippa felt, will God grant knowledge which is beyond the reach of human investigation, the knowledge of the true mysteries of religion, which are contained not in the external revelation but in its inner meaning.[39]

The sources from which Agrippa and his friends at Pavia and Casale drew their ideas are precisely those which could furnish the most abundant materials for esoteric speculations. Some of these, and chiefly the ancient ones, Agrippa cites repeatedly; others, mainly the books of modern authors, he systematically avoids mentioning.

Above all, Agrippa's writings during his Italian period abound in direct quotations or more general ideas taken from the Hermetic literature, chiefly the collection of short treatises which went under the name *Pimander*. This work had been translated by Marsilio Ficino in the preceding century, and Agrippa obviously used one of the editions avail-

[38] *Ibid.*, 500: 'quod deterius est, si qui sunt qui huic pristinae theologiae ac religioni se dedicant, insani, ignari, irreligiosi, interdum etiam haeretici vocantur, atque (ut inquit Hermes) odio habentur, etiam periculum capitale in eos constituitur, contumeliis afficiuntur, saepe vita privantur'. Cf. Ludovico Lazzarelli, *Crater Hermetis*, in *Testi umanistici su l'Ermetismo*, p. 68, and *Corpus Hermeticum*, ed. A. D. Nock, tr. A. J. Festugière (Paris, 1945–1954), IX, 4. Agrippa's wording is very similar to that of Ficino's translation of the *Pimander*. Cf. *De potestate et sapientia Dei* [i.e., the *Pimander*] (Paris: Wolfgang Hopyl, 1494), fol. CI^{v}: 'interdum etiam odio habentur: contumeliis afficiuntur: vitaque priuantur'.

[39] *Ibid.*, 490, 493–494.

able in print by his time, probably the edition published by Lefèvre d'Étaples at Paris in 1505, that is, at just about the period when Agrippa was in Paris. He drew on Ficino's translation heavily for the *Dialogus de homine*,[40] and *De triplici ratione cognoscendi Deum* and *De originali peccato* both make use of passages taken from the *Pimander*.[41] Not only this collection, but also the *Asclepius*, a dialogue known even to medieval writers, receives frequent mention in Agrippa's books. The importance of this Hermetic tradition in the thought of Agrippa and his associates is proved not only by the use of frequent quotations from it, but also by the fact that Agrippa's fame among his followers depended in large part on his lectures devoted to a study of the *Pimander*. Agrippa shared to the full the belief of his generation that these treatises were the work of an ancient Egyptian sage, who was in touch with the wisdom of the ancient Hebrews, and who was not only the founder of all human sciences, but also a clear prophet of 'the coming of Christ, the future judgment, the resurrection of the dead, the renewal of the world, the glory of the saints, and the punishments of sinners'.[42]

Another source for the thought of Agrippa and the studies of his friends, of course, was the Hebrew Cabala. Agrippa had already lectured on Reuchlin's *De verbo mirifico* at Dôle in 1509, and his friend at Casale, Agostino Ricci, had already published a book on cabalistic topics. Agrippa's whole idea of the proper way to understand the Bible and so to gain truth in religion, as has been shown above, stressed the importance of the Cabala as an exegetical tool. The difficult problem is to find sources for his cabalistic knowledge other than the *De verbo mirifico* and the same author's later *De arte cabalistica*, which Agrippa probably did not learn to know until after he left Italy.[43] While Agrippa knew some Hebrew, it is almost certain that he did not know enough to go directly to untranslated Hebrew sources, such as the *Sefer Zohar*, even though he did mention the title of this work once in his *Dialogus de homine*.[44] Ex-

[40] See Zambelli, p. 55n and 57–71, for a commentary showing in detail the Hermetic and other citations in Agrippa's *Dialogus*.

[41] For *De triplici ratione*, e.g., cf. *Opera*, II, 482 ('cupitatum imperio, ad quarum . . . libidini ullum') with *Corpus Hermeticum*, XII, 4. For *De originali peccato*, cf. *Opera*, II, 558 ('Quod et Hermes . . . lapsum'), with *Corpus Hermeticum*, I, 13.

[42] *Oratio in praelectione . . . Trismegisti*, in *Opera*, II, 1074. This is the only surviving part of Agrippa's lectures on the *Pimander*.

[43] Agrippa mentions it in a letter dated 1520, *Epist.* II, 63. Reuchlin's later work was first published at Hagenau in March 1517.

[44] Cited as *sepherzour* in *Dialogus de homine*, MS. fol. 56r–56v. In 1519, Agrippa admitted that he knew only a little Greek and Hebrew (*De beatissimae Annae monogamia*, fol. K7r).

cept for such Hebrew passages as he might have read or discussed with the aid of Hebraists more skilled than himself, Agrippa was limited in his direct knowledge of the cabalistic books to what had been translated. Probably the only such translation he knew was the *Portae lucis* of Paolo Ricci, a translation of the *Sha'are Orah* of Joseph Gikatilla, published in 1516, the most likely year for the composition of Agrippa's *Dialogus de homine* and *De triplici ratione*. There is evidence to suggest that this work circulated in manuscript even before it was printed; and so it surely must have been known at Pavia, where Ricci had lived, and at Casale, where the other Ricci, Agostino, was Agrippa's close friend. This hypothesis that Agrippa knew the *Portae lucis* is confirmed by the fact that he quotes an extensive passage from it, mentioning his source, in his *Dialogus de homine*.[45]

One other source which Agrippa doubtless believed to be an ancient and esoteric book containing long-lost truth was the forgery by Giovanni Nanni, known as Annio di Viterbo, *Berosi sacerdotis chaldaici antiquitatum libri quinque*.[46]

Other ancient sources to which Agrippa must have turned were the writings of the ancient Neoplatonists, which the immediately preceding generations of Florentine scholars, especially Ficino, had restored to the knowledge of the Latin world. Agrippa's writings at times contain vague references to the Platonists, and on one occasion in his *Dialogus de homine*, he quotes directly and explicitly from the *De occasionibus* of Porphyry. His *De triplici ratione* contains repeated references to the *De divinis nominibus* of the pseudo-Dionysius.[47] This writer, with his mysti-

[45] *Dialogus de homine*, MS. fol. 51^{v}–52^{r}. Cf. Joseph ben Abraham Gikatilla, *Portae lucis*, tr. Paolo Ricci (Augustae Vindelicorum, 1516), fols. A5^{v}–A6^{r}. This citation is noted by Zambelli. That the *Portae lucis* was circulating to at least some extent in manuscript before it was printed is suggested by MS. Lat. 598 of the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, written in the hand of Cardinal Egidio Canisio di Viterbo, the general of the Augustinian friars, and dated 1513. There is a photostat of this manuscript in the rare-book room of the University of Illinois Library.

[46] Cf. the edition published at Rome in 1498, fol. Q2^{r}, with *Epist.* II, 9. The reference in the Paris edition of 1514 is fol. 4^{r}; and in the Antwerp edition of 1545, fol. 25^{r}–25^{v}.

[47] For the reference to Porphyry, cf. MS. fol. 59^{r} with *De occasionibus*, lib. I, cap. 8. Agrippa follows the wording of Ficino's translation, in his *Opera omnia* (Basel, 1576), II, 1929. For Dionysius, see Agrippa's *Opera*, II, 483, 484, 488, 490, 491. Several translations of Dionysius could have been available to Agrippa, for the works of the Areopagite had been translated into Latin as early as the ninth century by Johannes Scotus Erigena and had been well known both to medieval thinkers and to the men of the Italian Renaissance. Ficino himself made a new translation in the fifteenth century, while in the fourteenth century there was yet another version by Ambrosius Traversarius Camaldulensis. On medieval knowledge of the writings of the pseudo-Dionysius, see *Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche*, IV, 691.

cal tendencies and his emphasis on a hierarchy of being quite similar to that which Agrippa found in the Hermetic and cabalistic writings, was of course very congenial to Agrippa's esoteric interests. His authority was increased by the belief of the age that Dionysius had lived in apostolic times. Many other church fathers, such as St. Augustine, Gregory the Great, Origen, John of Damascus, and St. Jerome, provide Agrippa with quotations or general ideas. And of course, there are many Biblical citations in all of Agrippa's books.

The most interesting sources on which Agrippa drew, however, are those he did not mention. The recent editor of Agrippa's *Dialogus de homine* has discovered a number of such sources in that previously unprinted treatise, and a similar study by the present writer of the sources of the *Dialogus*, and also of the other Agrippan works contained in the same Lyons manuscript, strongly confirms the editor's conclusions.[48]

The most important of these unmentioned sources for Agrippa's thought is clearly the writings of Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, who among all the fifteenth-century Florentine philosophers was the one most interested in esoteric traditions. The *Dialogus de homine* of Agrippa directly quotes or paraphrases numerous passages from Pico's *Heptaplus*, and not on merely peripheral matters, but for such central ideas as that the soul is the link between the celestial and terrestrial worlds. Study of the previously published works of Agrippa's years in Italy and the months immediately following his departure shows the same borrowing of key ideas from Pico's *Heptaplus*, such as the notion that man is an image of the Trinity.[49] There is even one passage which appears to show use by Agrippa of the vernacular *Commento alla canzone d'amore* of Pico.[50] It is highly probable that Agrippa, unlike most humanists from the north, had a good command of Italian, since he stayed for a seven-year period and married an Italian wife.

[48] Zambelli, pp. 55–56, and the notes to her text of the *Dialogus de homine*, pp. 57–71 *passim*.

[49] Cf. *Opera*, II, 553, with *Heptaplus*, lib. V, cap. 6, in *Scritti vari*, ed. Eugenio Garin (Florence, 1942), p. 302. For the similar doctrines of the threefold world (intellectual, celestial, and elementary), cf. Agrippa's *Dialogus de homine* in Lyon, Bibliothèque Municipale, Fonds du Palais des Arts, MS. no. 48, fol. 49^{r}–49^{v}, with Pico, *Heptaplus*, 'Aliud prooemium', in *Scritti vari*, p. 184. Though the ideas are similar, there is no similarity in wording, and it is possible that both Agrippa and Pico are drawing on some cabalistic source. On the cabalistic doctrine of the threefold world, see Christian D. Ginsburg, *The Essenes: their History and Doctrines; the Kabbalah: its Doctrines, Development and Literature* (London, 1955), pp. 105–106.

[50] Cf. *Opera*, II, 554, with Pico, *Scritti vari*, p. 494.

The influence of Pico on Agrippa's writings should be further evident from what has already been said above about the fundamental doctrines of Agrippa and his Italian friends. The Cabala for Pico, as for Agrippa, was less a particular set of doctrines than it was an idea about the proper way to understand the hidden meaning of Scripture. Also like Agrippa, Pico had the notion that the book of nature and the revelation from God, the book of God, are both ways to truth, if given the proper spiritual interpretation. And Pico, again like Agrippa, believed in the magical powers which the enlightened soul could exercise over the natural world. Both men shared the usual belief of their age in the antiquity and holiness of the Hermetic writings.[51]

Another important but unnamed source on which Agrippa drew was the *Crater Hermetis* of Ludovico Lazzarelli, which was published at Paris in 1505 as part of that edition of the *Pimander* which Agrippa probably used. For example, the discussion in the *Dialogus* whether man is the image of God is strikingly similar to a passage in Lazzarelli.[52] Likewise, the notion that Adam before his sin was inherently mortal but was kept from dissolution by the presence of a divine light is similar to assertions by Lazzarelli.[53] And even the problem of why Agrippa cited the cabalistic *Zohar* when he doubtless never read it is clarified, for his citation is quoted directly from Lazzarelli.[54]

These sources of Agrippa's thought round out the picture of the intellectual milieu in which he moved during his seven years of residence in Italy. He and his enthusiastic friends shared the same general attitudes on intellectual and religious affairs, as outlined above. They similarly shared an enthusiasm for the same supposedly ancient and holy writings of Hermes Trismegistus and the cabalists. Finally, they were all alike disciples of the same group of men from more recent times, notably of Pico, Ficino, Paolo Ricci, and Lazzarelli in Italy, and, in the north, of the

[51] Eugenio Garin, *Giovanni Pico della Mirandola: vita e dottrina* (Florence, 1937), pp. 71, 75–76, 167.

[52] Cf. *Dialogus de homine*, MS. fol. 49^{r}–49^{v}, with Ludovico Lazzarelli, *Crater Hermetis*, cap. 6, in *Testi umanistici su l'Ermetismo*, p. 61. Zambelli observes these textual similarities also.

[53] Cf. *Dialogus de homine*, MS. fol. 55^{v}, with Lazzarelli, cap. 3, p. 59, and cap. 5, p. 60. Agrippa's discussion of the *lignum vitae* and the tree of the knowledge of good and evil (*De originali peccato*, in *Opera*, II, 554) shows similarity of ideas, though not of words, with that of Lazzarelli in *Crater Hermetis*, cap. 3, p. 59. Cf. Paul Oskar Kristeller, 'Marsilio Ficino e Lodovico Lazzarelli: contributo alla diffusione delle idee Ermetiche nel Rinascimento', in his *Studies in Renaissance Thought and Letters* (Rome, 1956), p. 237.

[54] Cf. *Dialogus de homine*, MS. fol. 56^{r}–56^{v}, with Lazzarelli, cap. 5, p. 61.

Christian cabalist Reuchlin. Their affinity for Reuchlin is shown by the subject of Agrippa's early lectures at Dôle. It is also suggested by the case of the one man, besides Agrippa and Agostino Ricci, who can be identified clearly by name among the occultists at Pavia and Casale. This was a Swiss student at Pavia, Christoph Schylling of Lucerne, one of 'so many of our Germans then studying arcane letters at Pavia'.[55] In 1518 or 1519, Agrippa inquired after this Schylling in the hope that he had salvaged a copy of Agrippa's commentary on the epistles of St. Paul which had been lost during Agrippa's flight from Pavia in 1515 after the French victory at Marignano. He learned that Schylling had become a pupil of Reuchlin at Tübingen and rejoiced to see the name of his former pupil mentioned in Reuchlin's book *De accentibus*.[56]

The French reconquest of the Milanese district after their triumph at Marignano in September 1515 forced Agrippa and his family to flee, with the loss of property, books, and income from university lectures.[57] The immediate result was Agrippa's moving to Casale Monferrato, where the marquis, Guglielmo IX Paleologo (1494–1518), offered him a pension. This minor Italian prince had created a reputation for himself as a patron of men of letters and had founded at Casale an Accademia degli Illustrati, where men met to discuss philosophy, laws, and natural sciences.[58] To him Agrippa dedicated both the *Dialogus de homine* and the *De triplici ratione*. But the pension he received was probably too modest for Agrippa's ambitions. He had apparently been looking for the favor of the Duke of Savoy during the interval between his flight from Pavia and his decision to go to Casale, a decision taken probably in 1516. His interest in Savoyard favor continued. At some time between late 1515 and 1517, he lectured on 'theology' at the University of Turin.[59] Perhaps these lectures were on the epistles of St. Paul, in which his interest went back to his studies with John Colet in 1510 and on which he

[55] Letter in Lyon, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS. no. 48, fol. 40^{v}: 'nuper cum quodam discipulo meo heluetio lucernensi christophoro Schyllingo nomine: quem inueni inter tot germanos nostros tunc papie studentes archanarum literarum'. In place of 'inueni', MS. may have written 'iuuenem', as Zambelli reads it. This letter is a variant of *Epist.* I, 49, which does not contain the reference to Schylling.

[56] *Epist.* II, 15, 37. Cf. Ludwig Geiger, *Johann Reuchlin: sein Leben und seine Werke* (Leipzig, 1871), p. 108; also Reuchlin, *De accentibus, et orthographia, linguae hebraicae* (Hagenoae, 1518), fol. XI^{r}.

[57] *Epist.* I, 49.

[58] Sancio, *Cenno storico intorno ai marchesi del Monferrato di stirpe Paleologa* (Casale, 1835), pp. 55–60.

[59] *Epist.* I, 54–59; *De beatissimae Annae monogamia*, fol. B6^{v}.

had written the commentary which he lost during the sack of Pavia in 1515. On the other hand, since he regarded the Hermetic writings also as sacred, his 'theological' lectures at Turin may have dealt with those books. The University of Turin had welcomed Erasmus in 1506, and it may have been either there or at Pavia that Agrippa met Eustache Chapuys, who was later to befriend him while an episcopal official at Geneva in the early 1520s and again while imperial ambassador to England at the end of the 1520s.[60]

Agrippa was certainly at Chambéry in Savoy in the spring of 1517.[61] He soon decided, however, that his hopes in Savoy were vain and that the continuing state of political unrest, which made travel dangerous for his friends and himself,[62] would make it wise to leave Italy altogether. His surviving correspondence for 1517 shows that while he was still in touch with Savoy, he also had friends who were urging him to accept positions at Avignon, at Geneva, at Metz, and even in France. His most influential friends in this search for a new patron and a new residence were the Lyonese family of Laurencin, the head of which was in the French fiscal service, while one son, Jean de Laurencin, was commander of the order of Saint-Antoine de Riverie, and another, Ponce de Laurencin, was governor of the order of St. John at Metz. The latter was one of the envoys sent by the city of Metz to negotiate the terms under which Agrippa finally departed from the Italian peninsula to settle at Metz as *advocatus* of the city government.[63] Some time before mid-January of 1518, Agrippa had taken his decision to return to the north, and by mid-February he had arrived in Metz.[64]

Although Agrippa was never again to return to live in Italy, his connection with Italians who shared his occult interests continued for the rest of his life. His removal from Lyons to Antwerp in 1528 was accomplished with the aid of an Italian merchant, Augustinus Furnarius, who did business at Lyons and Antwerp, and an Italian Augustinian friar, Aurelius ab Aquapendente, both of whom shared his intellectual inter-

[60] Garrett Mattingly, 'Eustache Chapuys and Spanish Diplomacy in England (1488–1536): A Study in the Development of Resident Embassies' (unprinted Ph.D. thesis, Harvard University, 1935), pp. 7–10, 47–56, 625–629.

[61] *Epist.* II, 5.

[62] E.g., *Epist.* II, 2.

[63] Prost, *op. cit.*, I, 299–307, 309; II, 473–474.

[64] *Epist.* II, 11; cf. Prost, *op. cit.*, II, 473–474, for documents which tend to support his selection of mid-February 1518 as the time of Agrippa's arrival in Metz.

ests.[65] Agrippa's contacts with Monferrato must have survived, for in a letter written from Antwerp in 1529 after the death of his second wife from plague, Agrippa spoke of an offer from 'a certain Marquis who formerly knew me', and who begged him to move back to Italy.[66] During Agrippa's most troubled period in the Low Countries, he found protectors in two Italian members of the household of Cardinal Campeggio, Bernardus Paltrinus and Lucas Bonfius. These friends continued to correspond with Agrippa after they had moved to Germany and then to Italy. One of them wrote from Bologna in December, reporting excitedly that he had been privileged to have a brief personal interview with Francesco Giorgio Veneto, who was a disciple of Pico, and that he had spoken of Agrippa to this learned man. Giorgio had given Agrippa's friend permission to read his book *De harmonia mundi*. The same letter shows that Agrippa's friend was trying to buy the library of the late general of the Augustinians, Egidio di Viterbo, but was beaten by another purchaser, Girolamo Aleandro, archbishop of Brindisi since 1524.[67] This correspondence proves that Agrippa's friends in Italy kept him supplied with books and with news concerning matters of occultist interest.

Thus Agrippa's ties with the occultist circles of northern Italy survived even after he had been absent for many years. Italy had not created those interests, and his position while there was more that of a master than of a disciple of the Italian Renaissance. But contact with the well-developed occultist movement in Italy, with the coterie of avowed disciples of Pico, the enthusiasts for the Cabala and for Hermetic books, had certainly enriched Agrippa's acquaintance with these traditions. And his success in building up a loyal following in Italy must have aided his later success in becoming, in each of the many places where he later resided, the center of a small group of bold spirits who sought to use occult truth, the concealed wisdom of the ages, for the purification and reform of their present world.

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[65] *Epist.* v, 20–23.

[66] *Epist.* v, 84: 'jamque etiam Augustinus literas accepit abs Marchione quodam, qui me olim cognovit. hic summis precibus pollicitationibusque me cum tota familia in Italiam revocat.' This marquis could not have been Guglielmo IX, who died in 1518; but it was probably a successor who had known Agrippa.

[67] *Epist.* VII, 22.

APPENDIX

THE TEXT OF AGRIPPA'S *DE TRIPLICI RATIONE COGNOSCENDI DEUM*

The following set of variant readings to the most important work of Agrippa during his Italian period, *De triplici ratione cognoscendi Deum*, takes as its basic printed text that given in the second issue of the standard edition of Agrippa's *Opera* (Lugduni, per Beringos fratres, n.d.), II, 480–501 (*op.*). This second issue of the edition, though it certainly represents a different setting of type, is almost identical with the first issue but can be distinguished by variations in line endings and in occasional typographical errors. A characteristic distinction between the two issues occurs in the line endings of the title page of volume II. Line 14 of the title page of the first issue ends with 'familiares libri'; line 14 in the second issue ends 'familiares li-'. The variants given below are taken from a microfilm of MS. Lat. 16,625 of the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris (*ms.*). This sixteenth-century manuscript, on paper, consists of thirty-three numbered leaves, written in a clear, humanistic hand. Professor Paul Oskar Kristeller of Columbia University kindly brought this manuscript to my attention.

The page numbers under which variants are listed are those of volume II of Agrippa's *Opera*. Minor variants in spelling, punctuation, and capitalization are not noted. *Ms.* lacks chapter divisions and headings, although there is a large capital at every place where *op.* begins a chapter.

Contents of MS. Lat. 16,625

fols. 2^r–3^r: Agrippa to Guglielmo Paleologo, Marquis of Monferrato.
fol. 3^v: blank.
fols. 4^r–33^v: 'Henrici Cornelii Agrippe De triplici cognitione dei libellus Ad illustrissimum Principem Guilielmum Marchionem Montisferrati Dominum suum Singularissimum.'

DEDICATORY EPISTLE (*Epist.* I, 52, in *Opera*, II, 718–719)

Salutation: Illustrissimo Excellentissimoque sacri Romani imperii Principi ac Vicario, Guilhelmo Palaeologo, Marchioni Montis ferrrati [*sic*] Domino suo beneficentissimo, Henricus Cornelius Agrippa beatitudinem perpetuam exoptat *op.*; Illustrissimo ac Excellentissimo Principi Guilielmo Palaeologo, Marchioni Montesferrati Domino suo singularissimo Henricus Cornelius Agrippa Beatitudinem perpetuam exoptat *ms.*

Page 718

econtrario (*post* invicta justitia) *op.*; Econtra *ms.*
Cujus etiam ethnicus *op.*; Vnde *ms.*
et (*post* quod vivimus) *om. ms.*
quasi (*prae* ex nobis) *inseruit ms.*
is (*post* intelligimus, si) *om. ms.*

Page 719

Celsitudini Tuae (*post* quae sequuntur) *inseruit ms.*
censuerint (*post* aliquid addendum) *op.*; censerint *ms.*
eidem (*post* Dei notitia) *op.*; eiusdem *ms.*
obsequii nostri *op.*; debite servitutis nostrae *ms.*
Casalis sancti Evasii, Anno 1516 *om. ms.*

DE TRIPLICI RATIONE COGNOSCENDI DEUM (Text)

Cap. I

et (*post* medium) *om. ms.* *Page 480*

super (*post* ascendam) *op.*; supra *ms.* *Page 481*
justitiam (*post* suamque ipsius) *op.*; iniusticiam *ms.*
propagare non cessat *op.*; non cessat propagare et quod deterius est contemnit misericordiam dei *ms.*
subsistens (*post* pertinaciter) *op.*; persistens *ms.*
de (*post* cessat assidue) *inseruit ms.*
Ab hoc (*post* criminator) *op.*; In hoc *ms.*
et (*post* ex quo) *inseruit ms.*
et vita *op.*; uitaque *ms.*
est (*post* erat, petitus) *inseruit ms.*
horto *op.*; orto *ms.*
cumque (*post* et negligens) *op.*; Tunc *ms.*
profluxerunt *op.*; profluerunt *ms.*
elapsi *op.*; illapsi *ms.*
relictus inquam (*post* relictus est) *inseruit ms.*
Apostolus *om. ms.*
est (*post* corruptusque) *inseruit ms.*
transformanturque homines . . . quoque quam bruta saepe patiuntur *op.*; transformaturque homo . . . quoque sepe quam bruta patitur *ms.*

insanabiles (*post* intermissione ad) *op.*; insatiabiles *ms.* *Page 482*
quod (*post* Vides modo) *op.*; quomodo *ms.*

Cap. II

est (*post* hominis felicitas) *om. ms.*
cognitionis Dei (*post* tres libri) *om. ms.*
intellectu *op.*; intellecta *ms.*
eis (*post* manifestavit) *op.*; illis *ms.*

et (*post* sublimem vero) *om. ms.* *Page 483*

Cap. III

Apostolus *op.*; paulus *ms.*
in libro de diuinis nominibus (*post* Dionysius) *inseruit ms.*
ex eo emanantes in nos *op.*; ex eo in nos emanantes *ms.*

videtis (*post* vero cum) *op.*; uideris *ms.* *Page 484*
vel incorporeis *op.*; uel in incorporeis *ms.*
oratione *op.*; operatione *ms.*
suscipe syderum motus *op.*; suspice siderum ordinem *ms.*
certe est aliquis *op.*; est certe aliquis *ms.*
in libro de diuinis nominibus (*post* Dionysius) *inseruit ms.*
et (*post* primum motorem) *op.*; ut *ms.*

et (*post* Deum in coelo) *om. ms.*
movetur (*post* quodcunque) *op.*; moueris *ms.*

cognovit *op.*; agnouit *ms.* *Page 485*
Sic denique Deum *op.*; sic deum denique *ms.*
profunditatem (*post* in maris) *op.*; profunda *ms.*
inexcusabilis (*post* odiosissima est et) *op.*; inexcusabilissima *ms.*
gentium (*post* namque) *op.*; gentiles *ms.*
Astronomiam *op.*; astrologiam *ms.*
plures eorum (*post* Deum, sed) *inseruit ms.*
cognitione (*post* temeraria) *op.*; cogitatione *ms.*

cognoscere (*post* est, non) *op.*; recognoscere *ms.* *Page 486*
videlicet (*prae* sopita ratione) *om. ms.*
in pimandro (*post* Mercurius) *inseruit ms.*
discedit *op.*; decedit *ms.*
et (*post* Deum tuum) *inseruit ms.*
Econtrario *op.*; econtra *ms.*

Cap. III

in (*post* liber Legis) *inseruit ms.*
multivariam *op.*; multifarie *ms.*
et (*post* magistrorum, etiam) *om. ms.*

eduxi eum de egipto et (*post* misi eum, et) *inseruit ms.* *Page 487*
nec (*post* communicasse) *op.*; non *ms.*
diuus (*post* Theologus) *inseruit ms.*
dictum (*prae* Pauli) *inseruit ms.*
recentiores (*prae* Hebraei Cabalam) *op.*; moderniores *ms.*

sapientiae divinae oracula *op.*; diuine sapientie oracula *ms.* *Page 488*
confirmat (*post* Cabalistarum schola) *op.*; confirmant *ms.*
ait (*prae* Dionysius) *inseruit ms.*
de Occulta philosophia . . . operationum tractatur *op.*; nostro quem de misteriis et ceremoniis magicis intitulauimus *ms.*
instaurato (*post* Persarum, et) *op.*; restaurato *ms.*
illo (*post* enim in Synodo) *om. ms.*
hec ille in quarto libro suo duodecimo et decimoquarto capitulis promiscue (*post* scientiae flumen) *inseruit ms.*

recentiores *op.*; moderniores *ms.* *Page 489*
tandem (*post* nuncupetur. Vnde) *inseruit ms.*
Hinc (*post* vocitârunt) *op.*; unde *ms.*
quoniam (*post* prophanantur) *op.*; quando *ms.*
enim (*prae* veni solvere) *om. ms.*
anilis (*post* ridiculum, et) *op.*; anili *ms.*
Porro *op.*; tandem *ms.*
in (*prae* lumine Fidei) *inseruit ms.*
in terris sunt *op.*; in terra sunt *ms.*

Cap. v

correptio *op.*; correctio *ms.*

viam (*post* Deo disponens) *op.*; uitam *ms.* *Page 490*
neque (*prae* Evangelium) *op.*; nec *ms.*
lucem ipsam exorientem *op.*; lux ipsa exoriens *ms.*
tamen (*post* Intellectus) *op.*; enim *ms.*
quasi (*post* aliquid cogitare) *inseruit ms.*
sacer (*post* fore agendum) *op.*; ariopagita *ms.*
eo in libro quem de dei nominibus edidit (*post* Dionysius) *inseruit ms.*
laudando et adorando *op.*; laudantes et adorantes *ms.*
ac (*post* ardenti desiderio) *inseruit ms.*
cum (*post* omni vita) *om. ms.*
diffringere posse *op.*; posse diffringere *ms.*
et (*post* semetipsos amittunt) *inseruit ms.*
cognitionis (*post* suam capit) *om. ms.*

atque (ut ait . . . ablationem *om. ms.* *Page 491*
super (*post* ablationem) *op.*; supra *ms.*
super (*prae* Cherubim) *op.*; supra *ms.*
queunt *op.*; nequeunt *ms.*
te (*prae* qui gloriaris) *op.*; tu *ms.*
Et scribens ad Corinthios ait *op.*; unde ad corinthios ait *ms.*
scilicet (*post* et veritatis) *inseruit ms.*
quando et quomodo potest *op.*; et quando potest *ms.*
nimioque *op.*; nimio *ms.*

nisi (*prae* quae indubia Spe) *om. ms.* *Page 492*
quoniam (*post* in seipsam) *op.*; quando *ms.*
exulta *op.*; exultat *ms.*
contemplationum *op.*; contemplationem *ms.*
lumen (*post* Dei summi) *op.*; lumine *ms.*
convertens (*post* in igneam) *op.*; conuertit *ms.*
Deo regnante *op.*; deo regenerante *ms.*
ipsius (*post* publicas mundi) *om. ms.*
fiunt (*prae* irritae) *op.*; sunt *ms.*
homo (*prae* Christianus) *inseruit ms.*
ventura (*post* et quae) *op.*; futura *ms.*

nobis (*prae* pollicitus est) *inseruit ms.* *Page 493*
ait (*post* Et alibi) *op.*; dicit *ms.*
loquuntur . . . praedicant futura *ms. add. in marg.*; predicunt *ms.*
hujusmodi (*post* mortuos, et) *op.*; cuiusmodi *ms.*

Habet enim etiam . . . virtuti Spiritus sancti *om. ms.* *Pages 493–494*

sint (*prae* duces caecorum) *op.*; sunt *ms.* *Page 494*
seipsum (*post* loquitur lingua) *op.*; semetipsum *ms.*
aut (*post* idiota) *inseruit ms.*
nonne dicet *op.*; nonne dicent *ms.*

cognoscet (*prae* quae scribo) *op.*; cognoscat *ms.*
alicujus divinae potestatis *op.*; alicuius miraculi divinaeque potestatis *ms.*
habet (*post* mentis lumine) *op.*; hebet *ms.*
adeo (*prae* judicabuntur) *op.*; a deo *ms.*
ariopagita (*post* Dionysio) *inseruit ms.*

qui suo spiritu . . . ac sanctum Theologiae *op.*; qui tam sanctum theologorum *ms.* *Page 495*
usurpant, solisque *op.*; arrogant qui solis *ms.*
Philippens. *op.*; titum *ms.*
contentiosi *op.*; priores *ms.*
et (*post* gens ambitiosa) *inseruit ms.*
populi astuti, abundantes . . . freti insolentes *op.*; gens astuta abundans . . . freta insolens *ms.*
sciant, cupiunt docti *op.*; sciat cupit docta *ms.*
disputant (*post* Ideo) *op.*; disputat *ms.*
roborati (*post* sophismatum) *op.*; roborata *ms.*
versatilis ingenii *om. ms.*
illis (*prae* impedimento) *om. ms.*
ait Ecclesiasticus *om. ms.*
Maximam (*post* defraudatus est) *op.*; maximum *ms.*
infero (*post* sunt in) *op.*; inferno *ms.*
illis (*post* applicabitur) *op.*; illi *ms.*

contemplationis (*post* in silentio) *inseruit ms. in marg.* *Page 496*
leges (*post* et pugnas) *op.*; legis *ms.*
Hinc (*prae* ergo qui) *op.*; hij *ms.*
terunt *op.*; conterunt *ms.*
confirment *op.*; confirmant *ms.*
eos (*post* concludant) *op.*; quos *ms.*
hoc (*post* Si igitur illi) *om. ms.*
qui (*post* contentio est) *op.*; quid *ms.*
contentiones (*post* omnino fugere) *op.*; contentionem *ms.*
dispersionem (*prae* et diffidentiam) *op.*; desperationem *ms.*
Idem ad Gratianum de fide *om. ms.*
servare populum suum *op.*; patri et filio et spiritui sancto saluare mundum *ms.*
Regum *op.*; Regnum *ms.*
Inventor autem hujus tam pestiferae *op.*; inuentor huius pestifere *ms.*
homines (*prae* evertendi machinam) *op.*; hominis *ms.*

exquisitione *op.*; ex questione *ms.* *Page 497*
falso (*post* verba Dei) *op.*; false *ms.*
simul ac *op.*; ac simul *ms.*
dissidereque *op.*; diffidereque *ms.*
falso (*post* Ecce quam) *op.*; false *ms.*
precepit (*post* dicendo) *inseruit ms.*
et in (*post* insuper) *inseruit ms.*
hec uerba (*post* ubi subdit) *inseruit ms.*
dejecit (*post* ratio autem) *op.*; deicit *ms.*

recentioribus aliquot . . . ac philopompis *op.*; modernis nostris theologis ac philosophis uel potius theosophistis ac philopompis *ms.*
scientiarum (*post* quem magistrum) *op.*; sententiarum *ms.*
ac neglecto Christi Evangelio *op.*; quem omisso christi euangelio *ms.*
Tunc (*prae* freti sophistica) *op.*; tum *ms.*
aperire (*post* attentare, aggredi) *inseruit ms.*
Tunc (*prae* irruentes suis) *op.*; tum *ms.*
et (*post* inquinamentis) *op.*; ac *ms.*
humanarum opinionum . . . rhapsodiam *op.*; instituerunt que gimnasium sathane suum *ms.*
et (*post* primis sanctis) *op.*; ac *ms.*
emanavit (*post* veris Christianis) *op.*; promanauit *ms.*
et (*post* a Christo) *om. ms.*
ariopagita atheniensis philosophus a paulo conuersus (*post* Graecis Dionysius) *inseruit ms.*

Bernardus, Cassaneus *om. ms.* *Page 498*
cognoscere (*post* suis queunt) *op.*; agnoscere *ms.*
Hunc imitantes recentiores quidam *op.*; hanc imitantes moderni nostri *ms.*
prae ceteris semper (*post* et propagatores) *inseruit ms.*
et extant (*post* extiterunt) *inseruit ms.*
sequuti sunt et (*post* generis homines) *inseruit ms.*
caliginosus *op.*; caliginosusque *ms.*
Christum imitantes *op.*; imitantes christum *ms.*
ostium (*post* sacrarum literarum) *op.*; hostium *ms.*
ac ineptis distinctionibus *om. ms.*
conterunt (*post* dissipant) *op.*; conferunt *ms.*
in (*post* conterunt quasi) *inseruit ms.*

qua (*post* alia insolentia) *op.*; quo *ms.* *Page 499*
canonistae *op.*; iuris periti *ms.*
continue (*post* hoc tam) *op.*; continuo *ms.*
et (*post* tam assidue) *inseruit ms.*
quod suum est distribuerint *op.*; suum tribuerint *ms.*
ex se aliquid *op.*; aliquid ex se *ms.*
et (*post* aliorum laboribus) *op.*; atque *ms.*
atque hoc consilio . . . se putent *om. ms.*
furunt (*post* supra memoravimus) *op.*; fuerunt *ms.*
Eangeliis (*post* Testamento, ex) *op.*; euangelijs *ms.*
remotiore (*post* Apostolis, ex) *op.*; remotiori *ms.*
et (*post* sapientiae conscii) *om. ms.*
eis quaestio . . . levis proponitur *op.*; nedum in theologia sed uel circa infimas facultates questio proponitur *ms.*
abunde satis ostendunt *op.*; demonstrant *ms.*

id (*post* ex opposito) *om. ms.* *Page 500*
et recentiores *op.*; ac moderniores *ms.*
nec (*prae* veritas quidem) *op.*; ne *ms.*
nec (*prae* ullum quidem) *op.*; ne *ms.*
necesseque est hanc . . . mole sua ruituram *op.*; quare omnes isti impietatis et iniusticie iudicabuntur *ms.*

dei (*prae* adhuc late) *inseruit ms.*
atque (ut inquit Hermes) odio habentur *om. ms.*
Attamen redite *op.*; attamen preceptis salutaribus moniti et diuina institutione informati Redire *ms.*
haurite *op.*; haurire *ms.*
immaculata *op.*; inuiolata *ms.*
et (*prae* disputare, *et iterum prae* docere) *om. ms.*

(*In fine capitis quinti, ms. legitur* 'Finis'. *Caret ms. capite sexto.*)

'At thy golg first eut of the hous vlysse the saynge thus'

IN examining a number of books of hours for the use of Sarum printed on the continent for sale in England,[1] the writer noted with some amazement the peculiar English often to be found in these volumes.[2] It therefore seemed worth while to record, in this journal and thus for the benefit of a wider audience, some of the choicer specimens found in these printings,[3] together with other poems which came into English religious books as translations from foreign sources. The title of this study, a typical example of the cruder continental spelling (for 'At thy going first out of the house bless thee saying thus'), is to be found on folio 8 (signature A8) of the *Horae ad usum Sarum* printed in Rouen about the year 1506 by Richard Goupil for William Candos.[4] In glancing over the foreign *horae*, one is continually astounded that such truly fantastic orthography[5] could find a market in the Brit-

[1] Though this study is based chiefly on materials in the Pierpont Morgan Library (PML), I have drawn heavily on the resources of the British Museum (BM), the Bibliothèque Nationale (BN), the Bodleian Library (Bodl.), and the University (CUL) and college libraries at Cambridge. For his ready willingness to assist, both in person and by letter, I am deeply obliged to Dr. Dennis E. Rhodes of the British Museum.

[2] The poetry is mentioned in passing, without further explanation or quotation, by Helen C. White, *The Tudor Books of Private Devotion* (Madison, Wis., 1951). The French stanzas printed in sections III and IV are briefly noticed by Rosemond Tuve, *Seasons and Months: Studies in a Tradition of Middle English Poetry* (Paris, 1933), p. 210.

[3] Sarum *Horae*, Paris: for Francis Byrckman, 14 April 1519 (STC 15923; Bodl. Douce BB. 141. [1]), sig. H4^{v}: 'Thys epystell of our sauyour sendeth our holy father pope leo vnto te emperour Carolo magno of the wyche we fynste wyrten who that bereth thys blessyng vpon hym and says yt ones a day schall opteyne .xl. yere of pardon and .lxxx. lenttyg. And he schal not peryshe wyrth soden deeth.'

[4] This edition is not listed by the STC (*A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, & Ireland and of English Books Printed Abroad 1475–1640*, London, 1926), but it is included by William W. Bishop, *A Checklist of American Copies of 'Short-Title Catalogue' Books* (Ann Arbor, 1950), p. 195. Copy at PML (no. 30004).

[5] 'O Blyssed trinite the fadre the sonne et the holy good thre persones and one god. I by leue vvith my hert et confesse vvith my moulth al tat holy church byleueth and holdeth

ish Isles in competition with the editions put out there by the native presses; yet no fewer than 120 editions[6] of the surviving *horae* (almost exactly half of those recorded by the *Short-Title Catalogue*, nos. 15866–16109) were printed abroad. Not all of these, of course, were so ignorantly composed by the pressman as the example cited here,[7] but it is evident that even the poorer specimens of English were so well received that reprintings were found commercially desirable.

I

Under no. 940, the Brown-Robbins *Index*[8] records only a single manuscript for the familiar prayer 'God be in my head and in my understanding' (Magdalene College, Cambridge, MS. F. 4. 13, ff. 27ᵛ–28). In that manuscript, the prayer reads:

> God be in my hedde and in my vnderstandyng
> God be in myn eyen & in my beholding
> God be in my mouthe & in my spekyng
> God be in my herte & in my thinkyng
> God be with me in all my lyuyng & at and after my departyng

The catalogue of the Magdalene College manuscripts,[9] however, maintains that this book of hours belongs to the sixteenth century (1518); to the present writer it seemed unlikely that this was the very first appear-

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of the and as a gode catholike and cristen man ougth tho fele and byleue of the' (PML 30004, sig. D12; the 'et' corresponds to an ampersand in the prototype).

[6] At least 19 came from the Low Countries, 71 from Paris, 29 from Rouen, and a single one from Venice.

[7] On occasion it is perfectly evident that the pressman did not understand the text he was setting. For example, in the Sarum *Horae*, [Paris]: Johann Philippi, 1497 (BM IA. 40487), we find the following lines on sig. i4 (the double-stroke marking the end of a line): '. . . I crie the mercy || vvyth hert contrit of mygret vnkinde- || nesse that. || ¶ I haue had to the. || The most svvetest spouse of mi || so vvle crist iesu destring hertly || euermore for to be vvyth the in mynde || et vvylle et to le te non erthely thyng be || soo nygh myn hert as thou crist iesu.' This same treatment of '¶ I haue had to the' is found in Vostre's Sarum hours of 20 October 1501 (BM C. 29. h. 12) and those of [?1510] (BM C. 41. a. 20). In the Pigouchet edition of 1495 (STC 15880; Bodl. Douce 24, sig. h2), this is treated as a full rubric.

[8] Carleton Brown and Rossell Hope Robbins, *The Index of Middle English Verse* (New York, 1943), p. 151: 'A Prayer of St. Richard of Chichester—six lines.' In the quotations I have silently expanded the contractions throughout, since they are in all instances perfectly normal and usual abbreviations.

[9] Montague Rhodes James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the College Library of Magdalene College, Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1909), p. 24: 'Cent. xvi (1518), beautifully written by or for Jasper Fyloll, a London Dominican.' On f. 1ᵛ, a reward of 3s. 4d. for the return of the MS. is promised to the finder.

ance of this prayer in English. Some years ago, Mr. Frederick J. H. Sutton of Amenia, New York, persuaded me to undertake the search for the earliest extant text of this stanza, and I deeply regret that the results of my investigations could not have been presented to him before his death on 10 March 1958.

The oldest surviving appearance of the poem, so far as I have been able to determine, is that on the title page of the Rouen *Horae ad usum Sarum* noted above:[10]

God † be in mihede And in min vnder ston dyng[11]
God † be in myn hyyesse And in min lokeyng
God † be in mi movthe And in myspekeyng
God † be in my hartt And in my thovgvt
God † be at myneyende And ad myde partyng

Although undated, this edition almost certainly was issued no later than the year 1506, since the calendar prefixed to the volume covers the years 1506–1517. It is most improbable that the edition could have been produced much later than the first year for which the calendar supplied the pertinent information. Both Goupil and Candos were active in Rouen in the early years of the sixteenth century.[12] According to Georges Lepreux,[13] Richard Goupil only began to print in the year 1510; the evidence of this book seems to prove that Lepreux gave too late a date for the beginnings of this press. Edouard Frère[14] supplies an address 'la 5e *échoppe* du portail des Libraires' for the shop of Guillaume Candos in the years 1504–1505, while the Morgan *Horae* (see note 11) provides a different location.

[10] With minor errors, the text of this edition was printed in the *Third Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts* (London, 1872), p. 256; cf. Brown-Robbins, p. 151. The errors in this edition suggest that the text was set up from an earlier printing, perhaps that of [Rouen: Guerin, *c.* 1505], the only known copy of which (BM C. 35. a. 2) lacks the title page. The later Rouen edition (Jacques Cousin, 28 July 1525; CUL Syn. 8.52.36, sig. a1) provides an almost perfect version.

[11] The prayer is printed in ten lines. The colophon reads: '¶ Impressum Rothomagi in officina Richardi goupil pro Guillermo candos | hac in vrbe in vico sancti nicolai commorante. G C.' (sig. I12v).

[12] Compare the *Catalogue of a Collection of early French Books in the Library of C. Fairfax Murray* (London, 1910), nos. 321 [*c.* 1500], 509 [*c.* 1502], and 447 [*c.* 1520], and the *Catalogue des livres composant la bibliothèque de feu M. le baron James de Rothschild* (Paris, 1884–1920), nos. 3223 (17 January 1511/12) and 3225 ('Ad ix. Idus Augusti' —more correctly, the nones, 5 August—1511).

[13] *Gallia typographica* (Paris, 1909–1914), III, 64, n. 3, and 186–187.

[14] *Des livres de liturgie des églises d'Angleterre (Salisbury, York, Hereford), imprimés à Rouen dans les XV et XVIe siècles* (Rouen, 1867), p. 26. He cites a Sarum missal of 2 August 1509.

Though this seems to be the first appearance of this text in English, the prayer had long formed a part of the French *horae*.[15] Its first printed appearance is in a *livre d'heures* which was printed at Paris by Antoine Vérard on 3 April 1488/9,[16] the only extant copy of this edition being now preserved in the Bibliothèque Municipale at Toulouse (Inc. 654).[17] With minor variations, Vérard continued to print this prayer in his various *horae* for the next decade;[18] it also appeared in the editions published by Thielmann Kerver (e.g., Rome use, 9 May 1501—PML 582)[19] and by Gillet Hardouyn (Rome use, 24 November 1503—PML 19286).[20] On folio 1v of Vérard's edition, the stanza reads:

Jesus soit en ma teste & en mon entendement
Jesus soit en mes yeulx & en mon regardement
Jesus soit en ma bouche & en mon parlement
Jesus soit en mon cueur et en mon pensement
Jesus soit en ma vie & en mon trespassement

The prayer was first printed in England itself by Richard Pynson (12 May 1514—STC 15917, on the title page of the work),[21] the sole surviving copy of this edition being in the library of Clare College, Cambridge (Kk. 8. 3):

God be in my heed And in myn vnderstandynge
God be in myn eyen And in my lokynge
God be in my mouthe And in my spekynge
God be in my herte And in my thynkynge
God be at myn ende And my departynge

[15] It is included in a book of hours for the use of St.-Brieuc (BN ms. fr. 14396, f. 33); cf. Victor Leroquais, *Les livres d'heures, manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1927), II, 298. This is a fifteenth-century manuscript.

[16] John Macfarlane, *Antoine Vérard* (London, 1899), p. 98, no. 198.

[17] I should here like to express my thanks to the *conservateur*, M. Caillet, for his kindness in permitting me to examine the volume in May 1958.

[18] In the editions of 20 August 1490 (Macf 202; PML 566) and [1498] (Macf 222; BN Vélins 918), the first line reads: 'Jesus soit en ma teste et mon entendement.' In that of [?1497] (Macf 215; BN Vél. 1631), the first line also has this text, while the last line now provides: 'Jesus soit en ma vie et mon trespassement.'

[19] Has the first line like PML 566, and the second line now reads: 'Jesus soit en mes yeulx: et mon regardement.'

[20] With the first two lines like the Kerver edition, and the last line as in BN Vélins 1631. See also Félix Soleil, *Les heures gothiques et la littérature pieuse aux XV^e^ et XVI^e^ siècles* (Rouen, 1882), p. 239.

[21] This edition is described by Edgar Hoskins, *Horae Beatae Mariae Virginis, or Sarum and York Primers* (London, 1901), no. 44. The text of this version was also printed by Charles C. Butterworth, *The English Primers (1529–1545)* (Philadelphia, 1953), p. 6.

In England, this prayer was often reprinted in the old Sarum primers (at least until 1558). The words from this edition were set to music, which was not copyrighted until 1910, by H. Walford Davies, who was the organist at St. George's, Windsor, and the master of the king's music.[22] A copy of a printed edition of this song, with the date 'July, 1923', is in the possession of Professor Allan G. Chester of the University of Pennsylvania, who most kindly placed it at my disposal. This text, almost identical with that of Pynson's volume except for its present-day orthography, reads:

God be in my head, And in my understanding;
God be in mine eyes, And in my looking;
God be in my mouth, And in my speaking;
God be in my heart, And in my thinking;
God be at mine end, And at my departing.

II

Another poem often included in the French *livres d'heures*,[23] as well as in books of a religious nature printed in France, is a decalogue in French verse.[24] The poem appears, for example, on sig. l7^{v} of a book of hours for Le Mans use,[25] apparently printed in Paris about the year 1492:[26]

Vng seul dieu tu adoreras et aymeras parfaictement
Dieu en vain ne iureras n'autre chose pareillement
Les dimenches tu garderas en seruant dieu deuotement
Pere et mere honnoureras affin que viue longuement
Homicide point ne feras[27] de fait ne voluntairement
Luxurieux point ne seras de corps ne de consentement
L'auoir d'aultruy tu n'embleras ne retiendras a escient
Faulx tesmoignage ne diras ne mentiras aucunement

[22] I owe these details to the kindness of Professor Chester.

[23] See for example, BN ms. lat. 1373, f. 131 (Paris use, middle or second half of fifteenth century, Leroquais, *op. cit.*, I, 193) and BN ms. lat. 18031, f. 113^{v} (a similar manuscript, Leroquais, II, 222).

[24] An entirely different verse rendering is given by Soleil, *op. cit.*, pp. 230–231.

[25] See the *Catalogue of Manuscripts and Early Printed Books from the Libraries of William Morris, Richard Bennett, Bertram, fourth Earl of Ashburnham, and other Sources now forming Portion of the Library of J. Pierpont Morgan* (London, 1907), III, 4–6, no. 567. It has now been determined that the book is for Le Mans use.

[26] In very similar form, this stanza occurs in the *Compost et calendrier des bergers*, Paris: Gui Marchand, 18 July 1493, sig. f6^{v} (PML 508). It is also included in the edition of Geneva: [Jean Bellot, after 1497]; compare the facsimile edition (*Le Grand Calendrier des Bergiers von Jean Belot, Genf 1497*, Bern, 1920, p. 50).

[27] The *Compost* agrees in having 'feras', while the *Fleur* text offers 'seras'.

L'oeuure de chair ne desireras qu'em mariage seulement
Biens d'autruy ne couuoiteras pour les auoir iniustement

The same poem, with almost identical wording, was included in various early editions of the *Fleur des commandemens de Dieu*.[28]

This French stanza on the ten commandments was soon translated into English[29] and can be found in many of the Sarum *horae* which were produced abroad for importation into England. In this English rendering, the lines read:[30]

One god onely thou shalte loue: & worshype perfytely.
God in vayn thou shalt not swere nor by that he made truly.
The sondayes thou shalt kepe in sernynge [*sic*] god deuoutly.
Fader and moder thou shalte honour and shalt lyue longely.
Mansleer thou shalte nat be in dede / ne willyngly.
Lecherous thou shalte not be of thy bodi / ne consentyngly.
No mannes goodes / thou shalte nat stele / nor with holde falsly.
False wytnesse thou shalte nat bere / in any wyse lyengly.
The werkes of the flesshe desyre nat but in maryage only.
The goodes of other coueyte nat / to haue them vniustly.

When the *Fleur des commandemens de Dieu* came to be translated into English (by Andrew Chertsey),[31] a different translation was made for use on the title page of this work. It appears in identical form in both Wynkyn de Worde printings of this text. This rendition is somewhat more elaborate than that used in the editions of the *horae*:[32]

[28] Paris: Nicole de la Barre, 31 January 1498 (BM C. 22. b. 4, f. 26^{v}) and Paris: Antoine Vérard, 7 March 1500/1, sig. A1 (Macf 64; PML 42037). Presumably it also occurs in the first edition (Rouen: Le Bourgeois, 1496), but I have been unable to examine the only recorded copy, that in the Bibliothèque Municipale at Rouen (Inc. mm. 54).

[29] This is not listed by Brown-Robbins, *op. cit.*, and the first mention of it by Hoskins (*op. cit.*, p. 133) is in the Kaetz edition of *c.* 1523 (STC 15935).

[30] Antwerp: Christopher Endovienses for Pieter Kaetz (London), 27 November 1523, sig. +8. Hoskins 66 and STC 15938 give the date 22 November, but the Morgan copy (PML 17690) is certainly dated the 27th. A hand of the early sixteenth century has written this stanza in the margin of sig. b2^{v} of the Morgan copy (PML 698) of *The Royal Book*, [Westminster: William Caxton, 1486]. It will also be found on sig. N3^{v} of the 1532 Salisbury *Prymer* (Paris: Yolande Bonhomme vidue T. Kerver, August 1532) (PML 1046). Different texts on the same theme will be found in Emmanuel College, Cambridge, MS 27 (I. 2. 6, f. 111^{v}—Brown-Robbins 2694); in BM Royal MS. 8 F VII, f. 47 ('On God I byde the worchyp ay'); and, in two differing recensions, in the English *Kalender of Shepherdes* (cf. facsimile by H. Oskar Sommer, London, 1892—sig. f3 of the Paris 1503 edition and p. 78 of the reprint of Pynson's 1506 printing). Compare also Butterworth, *op. cit.*, p. 6 and p. 89, n. 4.

[31] See *DNB*, X, 191–192, and H. G. Pfander, 'Dives et Pauper', *The Library*, 4th ser., XIV (1933), 299, note.

[32] London: Wynkyn de Worde, 14 September 1510 (STC 23876; CUL Sel. 3. 18, title

¶ Thou shalt worshyp one god onely
And loue hym with thy herte perfytely
¶ God in vayne swere not wylfully
Ne by nothynge that he made veryly
¶ The sonday kepe and halow holyly
Herynge gods seruyce on them deuoutly
¶ Fader and moder honour thou lowly
And in theyr nede helpe them gladly
¶ Slee thou no man malycyously
Nor to his dethe consent wytyngly
¶ Thou ne shalte commyt lechery
But with thy wyfe in wedlocke onely
¶ Thy neyghbours goodes stele not falsly
Nor nothynge withholde vntruely
¶ Fals wytnesse bere thou not slyly
Nor fals recorde for none enuy
¶ Other mennes wyues take not flesshely
Ne other women to knowe carnally
¶ Other mennes godes coueyt not lightly
Nor holde from them vnryghtfully

Both the French text and its English renderings seem ultimately to have been inspired by a much earlier Latin stanza which also appears occasionally in the English *horae* and in certain devout tracts.[33] As a manuscript entry, this stanza was written into the lower margin of sig. ✠8 in the Morgan copy (PML 17690) of STC 15938:

Vnum crede deum Ne Jures vana per ipsum
Sabbata sanctifices, Habebis in honore parentes
Ne sis occisor fur Mecus Testis inJ[us]tus[34]
Alterius Nuptam, Rem nec Cupias alienum

While the English versified decalogues in the continental publications are obviously not corrupt as to orthography or rhyme, it is nevertheless interesting to observe how the publishers of the continental printings influenced the literary content of books designed for the English market.

III

Frequently there were attached to the calendar some mnemonic verses which were intended to recall the saints venerated in the several months.

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page). This is identically the same as that found on the title of De Worde's second edition, 8 October 1521 (PML 748).

[33] This also occurs in Robert Grosseteste's *Templum Domini* (BM Royal MS. 8 D IV, f. 77—fourteenth century) and in slightly different form in Royal MS. 16 E IX, f. 1^{v} (XIV cent.). It is also written out in the Morgan copy of *The Royal Book* (see note 30) and is printed in the Salisbury *Primer*, Rouen: Richard Valentinus, 1555 (STC 16072; PML 1047, sig. D8^{v}).

[34] This is written 'inJcus' (?). The texts of the *Royal Book* and of the 1555 *Primer* have 'iniquus'.

Félix Soleil[35] supplies this succinct explanation for the French text found in the Parisian printed *horae*:[36]

> C'est une suite de mauvaises rimes françaises, fort bizarres, n'offrant généralement aucun sens raisonnable, mais ayant pour but, sous leur enveloppe ridicule, d'aider, en les récitant de mémoire à défaut de calendrier, à se rappeler l'époque exacte des Fêtes fixes de chaque mois. Il suffit pour cela de scander, en comptant sur ses doigts, ces quatrains puérils qui contiennent autant de syllabes, qu'il y a de jours dans le mois auquel se rapporte chacun d'eux. La première syllabe du nom de chaque saint chômé répond à la date du jour consacré à sa fête.

For the Salisbury hours, these verses were transformed (*not* translated, since the text differs) into English;[37] in these printed editions,[38] the names of those saints most venerated in England were, of course, specially singled out for mention.[39]

January[40]

En ian uier que les Roys ve nus sont
Glau me dit fre min mor font
An thoin boit le iour vin cent fois
Pol us en sont tous ses dois

Cir. cum. staunt. ly. thre. Kings. came. by. nynght
By. an. hye. hell. or. day. light
An. tho. vvoull. graffe. ony. good. vyne
Paule. call. for. Tho. mas. Al. quyne

February[41]

Au chan de lier A ga the beut
Mais le vin si fort les meut
Qu'il tu a pres dau si
Pier res Ma thi as aus si

Bryde. ma. ry. gil| bert. har. de. ly
All. thy. frendes. stan. dyng. the. by
And. pray. vvith. the. tho. dyne
Pe. ter. ma. thy. and. au. gu. styne

[35] *Op. cit.*, p. 155.

[36] It is included in a book of hours for Rome use written in France early in the sixteenth century (BN ms. lat. 13268, f. 1^{v}; Leroquais, *op. cit.*, II, 60).

[37] A different version is given in the *Calendrier des bergers* (PML 508, sig. a6, and the Bern facsimile, p. 9). A Latin version, perhaps the prototype, appears in the English *Kalender of Shepherdes* (1503 ed., sig. a6, and 1506 ed., sig. A6^{v}).

[38] The French text is taken from the Rome *Horae*, Paris: Pigouchet, 19 April 1494 (PML 18558), corrected from the Rome *Horae* (Paris: Pigouchet, [1495]; PML 570) and Soleil, *op. cit.*, 155–157. The English stanzas have been copied from the edition printed at Rouen by Florentinus Valentinus, [1557/8](Bishop, *op. cit.*, p. 195; PML 1036). Hoskins first mentions the verses on p. 209 of his book (no. 130; cf. note 52).

[39] A single stroke (|) is printed where a period is wanting or omitted in the text. In the Vérard edition of Macfarlane 198 (Toulouse Inc. 654), 'Guillau. me' appears in line 2 of January.

[40] There are only 30 'syllables' here, although the French (correctly, of course) has 31. St. Anthony is properly set down for the 17th, but the Conversion of St. Paul falls on the 25th (not the 24th, as here noted). The Sarum *Prymer* of 1529 (Paris: [François Regnault] —not in STC; PML 28432) and that of 1532 (see note 30) agree with this text, though they have 'nyght', 'hyll', and 'wull' in the appropriate lines.

[41] Here Gilbert is spelled as one word, though it should be divided as in the 1529 and 1532 editions in order to have the days come out right, so far as the saints are concerned. This now provides 29 days for February in our text. The other editions have 'Austyne' for 'Augustin', thus making a total of 28 'syllables' for this month.

Au bin dit que mars est pril leux
C'est mon fait gre goir il est feux
Et tout prest de don ner des eaux
Ma ri e dit il est caux

March[42]
Da. uid. of. wales. lo. neth. vvel. lekes
That. wil. make. [gre.] go. ry. lene. chekes
If. ed. warde. do. eate. some. with. them
Ma. ry. sende. hym. to. bed. lem

En a uril am broi se s'en vint
Droit a Le on la se tint
En son temps estoit en bal le
Geor ge Marc hant de go dal le

April
In. A. pryll. am. broise. is. fayne
To. se. vs. vvas. shed. vvith. rayne
Os. vvalde. forth. vvith. sent. vic. tore
Uvith. George. and. Marke. to. do. so. no. more

Ja ques Croix dit que iehan est moy[43]
Ni co las dit il est vray
Hon no rez sont sai ges et sotz
Car mes au gu stins et bi gotz

May
James. Toke. Crosse. vvas. ters. iohn. to| kyll[44]
Ni. co. las. sayd. do. hym. none. yll
But. vvith. that. came. fayre. he| layne
And. fran. ceys. to. de. parte. them. tvvayne

En iuing a l'on bien sou uent
Grant soif ou bar na be ment
En son temps fut prins com ler res
Damp iehan e loy et damp pier res

June
In. June. e. ras. mus. dyde. tynke
For. to. gyue. Bar. na. be. drinke
Buth. than. bo. tulph. thougth. it. me| ter
That. Joh. sholde. drinke. be. fore. Pe| ter

En iuil let Mar tin se com bat
Et du be noi tier sainct vaast bat
La sur vint Mar guet mag de lain
Iac mar dor An ne et Germain

July
Uvhan. ma. ry. vi| si. ted. Tho. mas
The. fre. ers. lete. their. dogs. out. pas
Than. came. forth. mar. get. mag. da. lain
James. An. marth. &. o. ther. tvvayne

Pier res et os on get toit
A pres lau rens qui bru loit
Ma ri e lors se print a brai re
Bar the le mi fait Jehan tai re

August
Pe. ter. cal. led. for. Je. su
And. bade. Lau. rence. for. to. say. tru.
Ma. ry. se. yng. all. their. de| bate
Made. Bar. thyll. mevv. to. breke. Johns. pate

Gi les a ce que ie vois
Ma rie toy se tu me Croix
Et pri e des nop ces Ma thieu
Son filz fre min cos me mi chieu

September
Gy. les. vvas. cut. to. his. losse
Ma. ry. sayd. nay. by. this. crosse
For. e. dith. savve. how. that. ma. thew
Did. beat. fre. myn. cos. me. mygh. evv

[42] All editions have 'loneth' for 'loueth'. Only the edition here used omits 'gre' at syllable 12, though this is necessary to mark the feast of St. Gregory on that day.

[43] Soleil, *op. cit.*, p. 156, prints 'en. May.'

[44] The text omits the period after 'to' in line 1 and prints 'helayne' as one word. As it now stands, May has 31 days, and correctly noted for the 9th is the Translation of St. Nicholas. However, St. Helen is now assigned to the 22nd (instead of the 21st) and the 25th is given to St. Francis (in place of the 24th, on which his translation is venerated).

	October[45]
Re mis sont fran cois en vi gueur	Full| lygh| vvas| fran| coys| fayth| at| come
De nis n'en est point bien as seur	De| nis| conde| not| ed| vvard| our| come
Car luc est pri son nier a han	Tyll| luke| vvith| a| leuen| thou| sande
Cre spin et sy mon a quen	Made| crys| pin| and| Sy| mon| to| stande
	November[46]
Sains mors sont les gens bien eu rez	Saints. soules. in. heuen. ben. fic. ker
Com dit Mar tin du biez	As. fay. eth. Mar. tyn. bryc. er.
Aus si fait por rus de mil lan	Re. corde. hue. and. besse. that. tell. can
Cle ment Ka the rin et sat An	Cle. ment. Ka. the. ryn. and. sat. An
	December
E loy fait bar ba co lart[47]	Loy. vvas. bar. ber. to. Ny. coll
Ma ri e cri e Lu ce art	Ma. ry. pray| thou. for| lu. cas.[48] soll
Dont en grant i re Tho mas meut	And. for. grace. pray. good. Tho. mas. ynde
De No E Jehan In no cens fut	To. Crist. Steuen. iohan. Chylde. to. be. kynde

In the course of transforming the French quatrains into English (or what passed for such), some errors crept into the text. Thus, the month of August is, of course, divided into thirty-one 'syllables';[49] those with a correct correspondence are St. Peter ad Vincula (1st), the Transfiguration of our Lord (6th), and St. Lawrence (10th). However, the Assumption of the Virgin is here noted in the sixteenth syllable (for August 15th), St. Bartholomew in the twenty-fifth (for the 24th), and the Decollation of St. John the Baptist in the thirtieth (for the 29th).

The English text has been printed exactly as it appears in the original without the correction of misprints, for this alone gives the reader an idea of what the sixteenth-century purchaser got for his money. By puzzling a bit over the readings, most (if not all) of the text becomes reasonably intelligent. Nevertheless, one cannot help feeling sorry for the contemporary reader—presumably a child—who was obliged to commit these lines to memory.

[45] The 1529 and 1532 primers both have 'lyght', 'at Rome', and 'oure. come' (overcome). The Rouen compositor entirely forgot to mark the syllables with periods in this month.

[46] Both other editions have 'syc. ker' and 'say. eth.' The Rouen *horae* misprints 'corde' as 'cor. de.'

[47] In the Vérard edition at Toulouse, the first line reads: 'Dic. E. loy. fait. barb. a. colart.' However, it seems likely that the French editions specifically called attention to the Feast of St. Éloi de Chatelac, which is celebrated on 1 December.

[48] Since St. Lucy is venerated on the 13th, the other editions more obviously have the reading 'lu. ces.'

[49] In error the Rouen *horae* prints 'debate' as a monosyllable.

IV

Another set of verses was just as frequently attached to the calendar. In these quatrains, the course of human life was compared to the months of the year, six years of a man's life being allotted to each month.[50] So far as the present writer is aware, these lines first appeared in the *horae*, both manuscript[51] and printed.[52] The same theme, though expressed in a different verse form, will be found in the several editions of the *Calendrier des bergers*, also printed in the closing years of the fifteenth century.[53]

Below is given an original French text from an edition of the *horae* together with its English equivalent, the misprints of which have again been left uncorrected:[54]

January

Les six premiers ans que vit l'homme au monde
Nous comparons a Januier droictement
Car en ce moys vertu ne force habonde
Nemplus que quant six ans a vng enfant

The fyrst .vj. yeres of mannes byrth and aege
May well be compared to Janyuere
For in this moneth is no strength no3 courage
More than in a chylde of the aege of .vj. yere

February

Les six d'apres ressemblent a Feurier
En fin duquel commence le printemps
Car l'esperit se ouure prest est a enseigner
Et doulx deuient l'enfant quant a douze ans

The other .vi. yeres is like February
In the ende therof beguyneth the sprynge
That tyme chyldren is moost apt and redy
To receyue chatysement nurture and lernynge

March

Mars signifie les six ans ensuiuans
Que le temps change en produisant verdure
En celluy aage s'adonnent les enfans
A maint esbat sans soucy ne sans cure

Marche betokeneth the .vj. yeres folowynge
Arayeng the erthe with pleasaunt verdure
That seasou youth thought for nothynge
And wothout thought dooth his sporte & pleasure

[50] Compare Joseph Morawski, 'Les douze mois figurez', *Archivum romanicum* X (1926), 351–363; the Rothschild Catalogue, I, 344, no. 531; and Émile Mâle, *L'art religieux de la fin du moyen âge en France* (Paris, 1922), pp. 303–306.

[51] The French text occurs in the *Horae* for Rome use (BN lat. 13268—Leroquais, *op. cit.*, II, 60; and in Morgan MS. 813) and those for Chartres use (BN MS. Smith-Lesouëf 39—Leroquais, suppl., p. 37). All three manuscripts belong to the early sixteenth century.

[52] The first mention of the English lines by Hoskins (*op. cit.*, p. 209, no. 130) is from the edition printed in London by John Byddell about the year 1537 (STC 15999). Through the kindness of Dr. Rhodes, I learn that they also appear in the edition of Paris: François Regnault, 27 June 1527 (Hoskins no. 77; BM C. 42. e. 7). The lines appear *in French* in the edition of the Sarum *Horae* printed at Paris by Philippe Pigouchet for Simon Vostre, 20 October 1501 (STC 15896; BM C. 29. h. 12).

[53] See p. 90 of the facsimile edition of the 1497 *Calendrier des bergers*. Two different English versions were printed in the English *Kalender of Shepherdes* (facsimile edition, sig. $l4^v$–l5, and pp. 153–155).

[54] The French text is taken from the *Horae ad usum Noviomensem* (Noyon), Paris: Pigouchet for Vostre, 8 August 1498 (PML 46606), and the English stanzas from the Sarum *Horae*, Paris: François Regnault, 10 October 1527 (STC 15954; PML 17603).

April

Six ans prochains vingt et quatre en somme
Sont figurez par Auril gracieux
Et soubz cest aage est gay & ioly l'homme
Plaisant aux dames courtois & amoureux

The nept. vj. yeres maketh foure and tvventy
And fygured is to ioly Apryll
That tyme of pleasures man hath moost plenty
Fresshe and louyng his lustes to fulfyll

May

Au moys de May ou tout est en vigueur
Autres six ans comparons par droicture
Qui trente sont: lors est l'homme en valeur
En sa fleur / force / et beaulte de nature

As in the mouth of Maye all thyng in myght
So at .xxx. yeres man is in chyef lykyng
Pleasaunt and lusty to euery mannes syght
In beaute and strength to vvomen pleasyng

June

En Juing les biens commencent a meurir
Aussi fait l'homme quant a trente-six ans
Pour ce en tel temps doit-il femme querir
Se luy viuant veult pourueoir ses enfans

In June all thyng falleth to rypenesse
And so dooth man at .xxxvj. yere olde
And studyeth for to acquyre rychesse
And taketh a wyfe to kepe his houscholde

July

Saige doit estre ou ne sera iamais
L'homme quant il a quarante-deux ans
Lors la beaulte decline desormais
Comme en Juillet toutes fleurs sont passans

At .xl. yere of aege or elles neuer
Is ony man ende vved vvith vvysdom
Forthan forthon his myghat fayleth euer
As in July dooth euery blossome

August

Les biens de terre commence l'en cueillir
En Aoust: aussi quant l'an quarantehuit
L'homme approche: il doit biens acquerir
Pour soustenir vieillesse qui le suit

The goodes of the erthe is gadred euer more
In August. so at .xlviij. yere
Man ought to gather some goodes in store
To susteyne aege that than dravveth nere

September

Auoir grans biens ne fault plus que l'homme cuide
S'il ne les a a cinquante-quatre ans
Nemplus que s'il a sa granche vuide
En Septembre: plus de l'an n'aura riens

Lete no man tynke for to gather plenty
Yf at .liiij. yere he haue none
Nomore than yf his barne vvere empty
In septembre / vvhan all the corne is gone

October

Au moys d'octobre figurant soixante ans
Se l'homme est riche ce la est a bonne heure
Des biens qu'il a nourrit femme et enfans
Plus n'a besoing qu'il traueille ou labeure

By Octobre betokenet .lx. yere
That aege hastely dooth man assayle
If he haue ougth / than it dooth appere
To lyue quyetly aster his trauayle

November

Quant a soixante-six ans vient
Representez par le moys de Nouembre
Vieux et caduc et maladif deuient
Lors de bien faire est temps qu'il se remembre

Vvan man is at .lxvj. yere olde
whiche lykened is to bareyne Nouembre
He wexeth vnweldy sekely and colde
Than his soule helth is tyme to remembre

December

L'an par Decembre prent fin & se termine
Aussi fait l'homme aux ans soixante-douze
Le plus souuent: car vieillesse le myne
L'heure est venue que pour partir se house

The yere by Decembre taketh his ende
And so dooth man at thre score and twelue
Nature vvith aege vvyll hym on message sende
The tyme is come that he must go hym-selue

Occasionally the calendar also contained Latin stanzas, based on the *Regimen sanitatis Salernitanum*,[55] but I have found no translations of these lines in the considerable number of English books of hours which I have consulted.

These, then, are the principal English 'poems' often included in the preliminary matter of the *horae ad usum Sarum*.[56] Thousands of Englishmen must have read these lines—but what they thought of them when they read them, we shall probably never know.[57] Fortunately it seems clear that these verses had little effect on the poetry of their own day—and no influence at all upon the great writers of the later decades of the sixteenth century.

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[55] Compare Soleil, *op. cit.*, pp. 31–41. They also appear in the BN MS. Smith-Lesouëf 39 and in the 1532 primer (see note 30 above). These verses were likewise included in books printed for the French market (e.g. *Horae ad usum Romanum*, Paris: Kerver for Gillet Remacle, 14 May 1501; PML 582, and in the *Calendrier des bergers*, PML 508, sig. b1–b6). In agreement with the French text, the stanzas also appear in the English *Kalender of Shepherdes* (facs. ed., sig. b1–b6 and pp. 21–32).

[56] Since these poems were not listed by William Ringler ('A Bibliography and First-Line Index of English Verse Printed through 1500', *PBSA* XLIX, 1955, 153–180), it is clear that they were not printed in the English incunabula. Elsewhere in the *horae*, English verse may also be found (in the hours of the cross, as descriptive lines for the woodcuts, etc.). It is planned to print these in a separate publication. The hymn of Richard de Caistre (Brown-Robbins, 1727) is included in the 1532 primer (PML 1046, sig. ††6–7) and was printed by Sir Egerton Brydges, *The British Bibliographer* (London, 1810–1814), IV, 139–140, though this printing was not listed by Brown-Robbins in their *Index*.

[57] Quite good English is found in the prayers of the *horae* for Sarum use printed in Paris by Wolfgang Hopyl (at the expense of William Bretton of London), 24 March 1506 (Bodl. Arch. B e 37; STC 15903, with date 9 April for IX Kal. Aprilis).

Notes on Early Murals in Mexico

SIXTEENTH-CENTURY mural painting in Mexican monasteries[1] constitutes the richest body of frescoes of that period anywhere in the Hispanic world.[2] I shall attempt to suggest broad dates, agreeing with those proposed by George Kubler. A tentative list is given, arranged by religious orders and states. It is slightly more complete than previous lists. The themes represented are enlarged by a few classical subjects. Finally, a discussion of the sources suggests frequent dependence on European models.[3]

TENTATIVE DATINGS

The pre-Hispanic mural technique—earth colors mixed with water and size upon the limed, polished wall—continued with slight modifications until the late sixteenth century.[4] Most work was executed by Indians,[5] as is evidenced by the style in comparison to post-Conquest Indian manuscripts. The Yanhuitlán Codex (1545–1550), surely done by Indians, shows adaptation of European ways of shading, composition, perspec-

[1] Mr. and Mrs. Pál Kelemen read the manuscript and made helpful suggestions. The pioneer work is Manuel Toussaint, *La pintura en México durante el siglo XVI* (Mexico, 1936). Fundamental for dating Mexican convents is George Kubler, *Mexican Architecture of the Sixteenth Century* (New Haven, 1948).

[2] Fifteenth- and sixteenth-century frescoes seen occasionally in cloister courts as well as refectories of Spanish and Portuguese monasteries suggest that such murals were once frequent there.

[3] Research for this paper was carried out at the Mexican monasteries and the Dirección de Monumentos Coloniales in Mexico City in 1947 and 1951, and in the main European print rooms in London, Paris, Brussels, Antwerp, and the Vatican in 1948 and 1955–1957.

[4] J. Enciso, *Archivo español de arte* XI (1935), 69–70; A. Carrillo y Gariel, *La técnica de la pintura de Nueva España* (Mexico, 1946), pp. 50–54, 67–73. The medium (*fresco a secco* on lime) looks often like true fresco because copious sizing makes the colors look transparent. The lime was polished like marble. The preservation of the frescoes was favored accidentally by bats whose dung greased the surface.

[5] Kubler, pp. 366–367.

tive, and characterization of types.[6] The broad, flat forms in this manuscript are often paralleled in the frescoes which may date from 1550–1560, for instance at Huejotzingo (The twelve Franciscans) and Ixmiquilpan (The Agony in the Garden). Here the outline is of great clarity with some shading resulting in a grisaille effect. Most frescoes are in black or brown on white, though sometimes red or yellow is added. From 1560 to 1580 the style is richer, both in figural scenes (Acolman cloister; Actopan stairwell) and ornamental borders (Huejotzingo; Actopan). The chiaroscuro is more vigorous and perspective usually better understood.

Contrary to accepted theory, probably no murals survive of the period 1520 to 1550. Most extant sixteenth-century murals were carried out between 1550 and 1580.[7] The frescoes so far uncovered are concentrated in the valley of Mexico, that is, in the states of Hidalgo, México, Morelos, Puebla, and Tlaxcala, and besides in Oaxaca and Michoacán.

FRANCISCAN, AUGUSTINIAN, AND DOMINICAN MONASTERIES

The spiritual conquest of Mexico through European colonization radiated from the monasteries of the three orders. There are about sixty former convents with known frescoes, the majority Franciscan (at least twenty-nine), many Augustinian (at least eighteen), and some Dominican (eleven).

The Franciscan sites can be listed by states:

Federal District: Xochimilco
Hidalgo: Alfajayucan, Tepeapulco, Tula
México: Otumba, Ozumba, Santiago de Calimaya, Teotihuacán, Tlalmanalco, Tlalnepantla, Zinacantepec
Morelos: Cuernavaca
Michoacán: Patzcuaro, Tzintzuntzan, Uruapan
Puebla: Atlixco, Calpan, Cuauhtinchán, Cholula, Huejotzingo, Huaquachula, Puebla, Tecali, Tecamachalco, Tepeaca, Tochimilco
Tlaxcala: Tizatlán, Tlaxcala

Most of the murals at Huejotzingo (figure 1), Tepeapulco, and Cholula may be of about 1550–1560.[8] However, the ornamental borders, friezes, shells, and perhaps the elaborate baluster columns at Huejotzingo

[6] W. Jiménez Moreno and S. Mateos Higuera, *El códice de Yanhuitlán* (Mexico, 1940), pls. VIII, XIV, XVI, XIX.

[7] Kubler, pp. 363, 377. See Soria and Kubler, *Art and Architecture in Spain and Portugal and their American Dominions 1500–1800* (London, 1959).

[8] Kubler, p. 365, showed that the date 1530 is incorrect and suggested for Tepeapulco and Cholula a date *c.* 1580.

(De Profundis Hall) were painted much later than the figures, i.e. about 1570–1580, as is indicated by the style and confirmed by the date 1576 inscribed in the similar ornamentation at Alfajayucan.[9]

Augustinian convents with frescoes are in

Federal District: Culhuacán
Guanajuato: Yuriria
Hidalgo: Actopan, Atotonilco, Epazoyucan, Huejutla, Ixmiquilpan, Metztitlán
México: Acolman, Malinalco
Michoacán: Charo, Cuitzeo
Morelos: Atlatlauca, Ocuituco, Tlayacapán, Totolapan, Yecapixtla, Zacualpan Amilpas

Atotonilco has some of the earliest frescoes (1545–1560), with plain balusters, pilasters, and columns. The rich lettering in borders and friezes (also at Actopan and Acolman) is characteristic of Augustinian striving for lavish decorative effect. Probably of 1550–1560 are the murals at Ixmiquilpan, Epazoyucan (Crowning with Thorns, Flagellation), the church of Acolman, and the convent of Actopan (except for the stairwells). At Actopan, the Via Crucis, the Last Supper, and the somewhat repainted Eremitic Life may date from about 1555, a decade earlier than the Last Judgment, the Ship of Friars, and St. Augustine as Protector of the Order. The series in Acolman cloister (Flagellation and Crowning with Thorns, Via Crucis and Nailing to Cross, Last Judgment, and Crucifixion) may be of 1560–1570, like the paintings at Metztitlán and the four Passion scenes as well as the Death of the Virgin at Epazoyucan.[10] The grand decorations in the stairwells at Actopan[11] and the murals at Malinalco and Culhuacán may date from 1570–1580.

Dominican frescoes are in

Federal District: Atzcapotzalco
México: Tepetlaoztoc
Morelos: Oaxtepec, Tepotzlán, Yautepec
Oaxaca: Coixtlahuaca, Cuilapan, Etla, Oaxaca, Teposcolula, Yanhuitlán

The frescoes at Oaxtepec (figure 4), Atzcapotzalco, and Cuilapan may be of 1560–1580.

THEMES

In the Mexican convent building proper, that is to say the residence as distinguished from the convent church, the principal frescoes were four

[9] See Kubler, pp. 450–535, for the dates of building activities at all mendicant sites.
[10] These paintings at Epazoyucan are in oil.
[11] For Actopan, see Enciso, *loc. cit.*

Dirección de Monumentos Coloniales

Figure 1. Huejotzingo, The Immaculate Conception with St. Thomas Aquinas and Duns Scotus (*c.* 1550–1560)

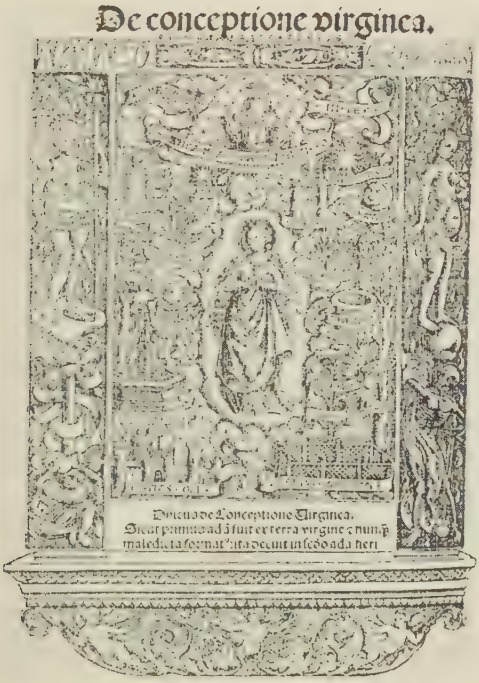
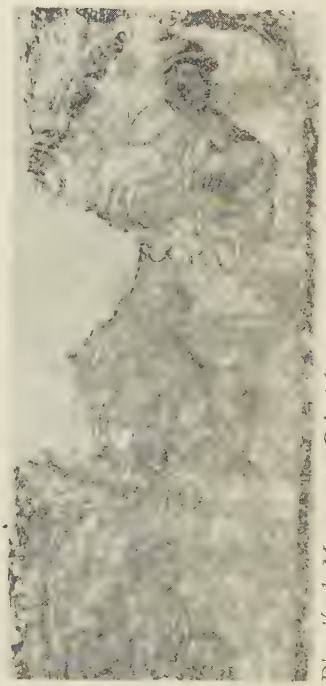


Figure 2. *Breviarium Romanum*, Paris, Thielman Kerver (25 February 1519)



Dirección de Monumentos Coloniales

Figure 3. Atotonilco, Socrates, Plato, and ? (*c.* 1550–1560)

Figure 4. Oaxaca: St. Dominic (c. 1560–1580)

Figure 5. Andrea de Portolatino, St. Vincent Ferrer (1560)

Passion scenes. Inviting the friars to meditation, they were arranged counterclockwise in each corner of the cloister and were therefore called *testera* paintings.[12] Similar arrangements existed in early sixteenth-century convents in Spain and Portugal. Passion subjects were long held unsuitable for Indian edification. Outside of the convent quarters, they became popular only in the eighteenth century.

Saints decorated the cloister pillars and appropriate themes, usually referring to the order, the stairwell. Other frescoes were in the refectory and in some of the cells.[13]

Exceptions to the usual repertory are the Equestrian Sybils, in the bishop's palace at Puebla, and Socrates, Plato, Pythagoras, and Cicero at Atotonilco (figure 3).[14] The occurrence of these pagan figures in a religious milieu might come as a surprise. But one should remember that Justin (died 166 A.D.) compared Socrates and Christ, both *logos* become man. Socrates' popularity as proto-Christian is shown in medieval and Byzantine art. In a twelfth-century *Hortus deliciarum*, he sits with Plato below Philosophy surrounded by the seven liberal arts. A sixteenth-century Byzantine picture book has Plato and Socrates with the prophets and sibyls in a Tree of Jesse, thus a collective prefiguration of Christ.[15] The pagan philosophers appear at Atotonilco half-length, framed by baluster columns and arches, with their names inscribed below. One might compare Hartmann Schedel's *Liber chronicarum cum figuris et ymaginibus ab inicio mūdi* (Nuremberg, A. Koberger, 1493), fols. LXXIII and LXXIV, as well as Horace, *Epistolae morales* (Deventer, 1522), showing Virgil and other poets with arch, column, and their names underneath.

Sibyls in the nude and other unclothed figures were formerly seen at Acolman, but these frescoes have disappeared. At Remedios church, Mexico City, there were frescoes (*c.* 1595) of Miracles of the Virgin together with Biblical subjects: Judith, Esther and Ahasuerus, the Ark of Noah, Rebecca and Eleazar, Solomon and Moses; the Sibyls as well as

[12] *Testera* is the head wall facing one as one walks counterclockwise around the cloister. The paintings are arranged in niches next to the corner. In Portugal, during the first half of the sixteenth century, similar Passion scenes were often carved in low relief, as at Santa Cruz in Coimbra.

[13] Kubler, pp. 378 ff., discusses the typography.

[14] See Martin S. Soria, *La pintura del siglo XVI en Sudamérica* (Universidad de Buenos Aires, Instituto de arte americano, 1956), chap. I, for a joining of Christian and Greek mythological themes in sixteenth-century frescoes in Tunja, Colombia.

[15] See George M. A. Hanfmann, 'Socrates and Christ', *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* LX (1951), 215, 223, and note 99.

Vulcan, Apollo, Juno, Neptune, Saturn, Venus, Mercury, and the three Graces.[16]

SOURCES

Though examples of exact copying are rarer[17] in Mexico than in other Latin-American countries, the murals usually imitate with variations European prints (less often paintings), chiefly from Italy, the Low Countries, Germany, and France.[18] The following list does not cite direct sources but the type of material to which Mexican frescoes relate. Future research should uncover closer affinities. The list tends to show that the murals, including borders and friezes, depend on European prints and tiles rather than on retables painted in Mexico.[19] Of course, the retables themselves usually copied European prints.

Mexican painting was influenced by Mexican as well as European book illustration. Most sixteenth-century publishers in Mexico came from the very countries which furnished pictorial models for the paintings. The first printer active in Mexico (1539–1561) was Juan Pablos (Giovanni Paolo) of Brescia, agent for the German Juan Cronberger of Seville. Associates of Pablos and Cronberger and later independent were the Spaniards, Antonio de Espinosa and Antonio Alvarez. The other printers were A. Ricardo of Turin, who about 1580 moved to Lima, Pierre Bailli (a Frenchman, though he claimed to be from Salamanca), Pierre Ocharte (Charte) from Rouen, Cornelius Adriansz César of Haarlem, and Enrique Martínez (Hendrik Martensz), a Fleming.[20] Most of these foreigners had trouble with the Inquisition, usually because their business partners denounced them for economic reasons as Lutherans.[21]

In conclusion, extant Mexican convent frescoes date mostly from 1550–1580 and are usually derived from Italian, German, or Flemish prints. Their style and location reflect conventual tradition in Spain.

[16] Fray L. de Cisneros, *Historia de el principio y origen, progresos, venida a México y milagros de la Santa Imagen de N^a S^a de los Remedios* (Mexico, 1621).

[17] See, however, Juan Gerson's paintings at Tecamachalco, 1562 (Kubler, p. 373).

[18] So rightly Enciso, p. 70. Elizabeth W. Weismann, *Mexico in Sculpture* (Cambridge, Mass., 1950), p. 197, gives reference to Motolinia, Las Casas, Mendieta, and Torquemada, all of the sixteenth century. Kubler, p. 373, believes that 'iconographical types, figural arrangement and peculiarities of style differ widely in Mexico from known European work'. The table in the text may partly dispel these doubts.

[19] For the opposite suggestion, see Kubler, p. 377, who puts much emphasis on the *Flos sanctorum*.

[20] See H. R. Wagner, *Nueva bibliografía Mexicana del siglo XV* (Mexico, 1946).

[21] See M. Toussaint, *Proceso y denuncias contra Simon Pereyns en la Inquisición de México* (México, 1938, Suplemento al N°. 2 de *Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas*).

MEXICAN MURAL	EUROPEAN MATERIAL
Acolman Candelabra borders flanking Crucifixion: Motif of half figures holding branches and carrying fruit basket on head (the four circles between heavy lines are derived from Aztec 0000)	Some similarity to engravings by Nicoletto Rosex da Modena, 1520–1530 (R. Berliner, *Ornamentale Vorlageblätter des 15. bis 18. Jahrhunderts*, Munich, 1926, pls. 34 and 51)
Borders flanking Crowning of Thorns; emphasis on double arabesque; compact, space filled to edge	Cf. Fra Antonio da Monza, *c.* 1500 (Berliner, pl. 17)
Via Crucis	Andrea Vavassore, in *Opera Nuova Contemplativa*, Venice, *c.* 1510 (Berliner, pl. 72; W. L. Schreiber, *La gravure sur bois*, Leipzig, 1901, VIII, pl. 76)
Acolman and Actopan Ornamental border: between Augustinian escutcheons and half figures emerging from acanthus bases are lying monsters with leaf mane and flowering arabesque tail including a face; nude riders hold flower (Acolman) or club (Actopan)	Composition, cf. Giovanni Antonio da Brescia, *c.* 1515 (Berliner, pl. 25^2); flower-tailed griffins, cf. Master of 1515, Upper Italy (Berliner, pl. 35^2); grotesque animals with riders, cf. Nicoletto Rosex da Modena (Berliner, pl. 31^1)
Actopan Ceiling with interlaced linework, Portería	Master F., Upper Italy, 1530–1535 (Berliner, pl. 90^2)
Frieze of half-length nudes swinging clubs and emerging from flowers	Cf. Master I. B., *c.* 1525 (Jessen, *Der Ornamentstich*, Berlin, 1920, I, pl. 64) and Master with Horse Heads (pl. 78); Monogrammist C. G. (J. E. Wessely, *Das Ornament und die Kunstindustrie auf dem Gebiete des Kunstdrucks*, Leipzig, 1877–1878, II, 456)
Stairwell, upper frieze	Master J. G. (Berliner, pls 76^1, 78^2)
Atotonilco Crucifixion, Lamentation over Christ	Flemish book illustrations
Cuilapan Ornamentation around Crucifixion	Zoan Andres, *c.* 1500 (Berliner, pls. 20^1, 20^2)
Epazoyucan Via Crucis, in oil: Christ, man at left in dark shirt, man at right with rope, dog	Schongauer, Grosse Kreuztragung (A. Bartsch, *Le Peintre Graveur* [1920], VI, 21; D. Angulo, *Archivo español de arte* XVII, 1945, 381–382)

Face of man with peaked cap	Cornelis Engelbrechtsz, Disrobing of Christ, Crucifixion altar, Leyden (R. Kahn, *Die Graphik des Lucas van Leyden*, Strasbourg, 1918, pl. IV)
Ecce Homo, Crucifixion, Lamentation	Flemish paintings
Huejotzingo	
Immaculate Conception of Litany	*Breviarium Romanum* (*Heures*), 25 February 1519, Paris, Thielman Kerver; also Pedro de la Vega, *Dei gentricis semper Virginis Marie vita*, Saragossa, 1534 (Vindel, *Manual gráfico-descriptivo del bibliófilo*, X, 74)
St. Paul	Schongauer, St. Paul (Bartsch 45), pose, general type, feet, folds
St. Gabriel of Salutation	Schongauer, St. Gabriel (Bartsch 1)
St. Michael, nearby	Schongauer, St. Michael (Bartsch 58): this and preceding, general types only
Door underneath Salutation: borders of arabesque branch with mauresque influence	Master F., Upper Italy, 1520–1525 (Berliner, pls. 83, 84)
Ornamentation surrounding St. Francis in landscape: left candelabra border putto head with radiating wings, paired dolphins, beads	Zoan Andrea, *c.* 1500 (Berliner, pl. 20^2), also Fra Antonio da Monza
Oaxtepec	
St. Dominic holding crucifix, standing between Corinthian columns supporting an entablature with a conch in a semicircular pediment	Andrea di Bertolotto, St. Vincent Ferrer, 1491, at San Vito al Tagliamento, Frari Church (G. Fiocco, *Il Pordenone*, Padua, 1943, pl. 3)
Motifs beyond conch: sigillum with small perforated rectangles, large flower in arabesque, candelabra	Anonymous master, *c.* 1520–1530, close to Nicoletto Rosex da Modena (Berliner, pls. 49, 50, 51)
Coffered ceiling (also at Acolman, Actopan, Metztitlan)	Related to Serlio

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The Influence of Thomas Watson on Elizabethan Ovidian Poetry*

THE phrase 'Ovidian poetry' or sometimes 'mythological poetry' is commonly used to denote a group of English poems written in the manner of Ovid during the 1590s and thereafter. Most importantly the group includes Lodge's *Glaucus and Scilla* (1589), Marlowe's *Hero and Leander* (1593), Shakespeare's *Venus and Adonis* (1593), T. H.'s *Œnone and Paris* (1594), Drayton's *Endimion and Phoebe* (1595), Thomas Edwards' *Cephalus and Procris* and *Narcissus* (1595). All the poems recast, or rather amplify, myths from Ovid and other classical writers; all treat a love story, usually with that precious combination of sensuality and sentiment for which Ovid is famous; all are highly ornate, employing rhetorically worked up love arguments, rich descriptions of clothing, buildings, tapestries, and the like, and minor embellishing myths like that of Neptune trying to embrace Leander in Marlowe's poem.

With the notable exception of *Hero and Leander*, these poems neither represent the best work of their respective authors nor achieve a very high artistic level. Their historical importance, however, exceeds their merit as literature. These frankly sensual poems show that some Elizabethan poets had adopted a different theory of art from the allegorical theory that dominates sixteenth-century criticism. The Ovidian poets of the 1590s were the first Renaissance Englishmen to read Ovid not as allegorized by the middle ages, but as he really was, and in imitating him they caught his 'art for art's sake' aesthetic.[1] It is, moreover, in these poems that we get our first real taste in England of the pagan aspect of the Italian Renaissance. Though none of the English Ovidian poems has been shown to have an Italian source, their similarity to Italian Ovidian

*Read at the Central Renaissance Conference at St. Louis 22 March 1958.

[1] On this subject see Hallett Smith, *Elizabethan Poetry* (Cambridge, Mass., 1952), pp. 64–74.

poetry by Politian, Pontano, Sannazaro, and Tasso is generally recognized.[2] At a time when scholarship has tended to connect more and more of the art and thought of Renaissance England with native medieval tradition, these poems remind us again of the complexity of Renaissance culture.

In tracing the development of the English Ovidian poem, scholars have established a chain of influence stretching from Lodge's *Glaucus and Scilla* and Marlowe's *Hero and Leander* through the later poems. Lodge's poem, indeed, is generally described as the pioneer work in the genre in England.[3] In the present paper I shall maintain that Watson's *Amyntas*, published four years earlier than *Glaucus and Scilla*, is the stimulus for the later poem as well as for several others in the group and that recognition of *Amyntas* as the key Ovidian poem makes clearer the later development of the type.

Thomas Watson (*c.* 1555–1592) has a claim to the title of the most learned of Elizabethan poets. His Latin translations of Sophocles and Colluthus testify to a competence in Greek which must have exceeded that of nearly all his contemporaries. Eccles has shown that Watson spent seven or eight years in France and Italy studying the civil and canon law and incidentally the muses.[4] And Watson's work reveals a very wide acquaintance with French, Italian, and Neo-Latin literature. From his notes to his *Hecatompathia* and from the sources of his *Amintæ gaudia*, we learn of his having read Ronsard, Étienne Forcadel, Gervais Sepin, Petrarch, Politian, Mantuan, Fiorenzuola, Æneas Sylvius, Parabosco, Vida, and Tasso. Though he generally finds a place in histories of English literature only as the author of *Hecatompathia* (1582) and thus as a forerunner of the English sonnet craze, Watson's main interest lay in the mythological poem and the pastoral. Into these related genres fall his *Amyntas* (1585), his translation of Colluthus' *Helenæ raptus* (1586), his *Melibœus* (1590), and his *Amintæ gaudia* (1592).

The work of Watson's most frequently referred to in his own day is his *Amyntas*. This poem, written in Latin, was printed only once, in 1585. An English translation, *The Lamentations of Amyntas for the death of Phillis*, by Abraham Fraunce, however, was issued in 1587 and reprinted in 1588, 1589, and 1596 and was included in Fraunce's *The Countesse of*

[2] Douglas Bush, *Mythology and the Renaissance Tradition* (Minneapolis, 1932), pp. 72–73; Louis R. Zocca, *Elizabethan Narrative Poetry* (New Brunswick, N. J., 1950), p. 195.

[3] Bush, p. 83; Smith p. 75.

[4] In *Christopher Marlowe in London* (Cambridge, Mass., 1934).

Pembrokes Yuychurch (1591). In the main an accurate rendering of Watson's Latin into English hexameters, Fraunce's version is even more repetitious than the original and unquestionably an inferior poem. For example, Watson's

> Qualis ubi longo mœrore Caïstrium ales
> Confectus, senioque gravi, sua sentit adesse
> Funera, solus agens per frigida flumina cursum,
> In ripa tandem, graciles interque genistas
> Confidet, ac sero modulatus flebile carmen,
> Cum cantu vitam liquidas exhalat in auras. (A4[r])

is rendered by Fraunce (A3[r]),

> Like to the siluer swan, who seeing death to be comming,
> Wandreth alone for a while through streames of louelie Caïster,
> Then to the flowring bankes all faint at length he repaireth,
> Singing there, sweet bird his dying song to Caïster,
> Geuing there, sweet bird, his last farewell to Caïster,
> Yeelding vp, sweete bird, his breath and song to Caïster.[5]

Nevertheless, if only because of the greater number of copies available, it seems likely that the influence of Watson's *Amyntas* was exercised chiefly through Fraunce's translation.

The poem itself, a pastoral, is composed of eleven 'querelæ' uttered by the shepherd, Amyntas, on successive days after the death and interment of his betrothed, a shepherdess named Phyllis. On the eleventh day the frantic Amyntas stabs himself from grief, whereupon Jupiter, feeling pity, sends his soul to Phyllis in the Elysian Fields and metamorphoses his body to an amaryllis flower. Watson's manner in *Amyntas* is quite distinctive and easily imitated. Leicester Bradner, the only writer to treat the poem extensively, describes it as a mixture of Petrarchan, Virgilian, and Ovidian elements;[6] the closest thing to its style that I am familiar with is the *Eclogues* of Sannazaro. Highly repetitious, Watson hovers around a few clearly defined motifs. There is the classical pastoral material with references to the workaday life of the shepherd and to the dances and singing matches. The natural background is constantly introduced, usually by means of the pathetic fallacy: birds, beasts, trees, plants, mountains, and winds are sad in sympathy with the sad lover. A second element of Watson's style is his constant use of mythological ornament. Not only does he allude to relevant tales and situations in

[5] My references are to *Amyntas Thomæ Watsoni* (London, 1585) and to *The Lamentations of Amyntas for the death of Phillis*, tr. Abraham Fraunce (London, 1587).

[6] Leicester Bradner, *Musae Anglicanae* (New York, 1940), p. 46.

classical myth, but he also invents minor myths of his own: Amyntas asks Neptune to have Triton sound his complaints on his cerulean conch so that they will be washed to the shores of the world, and Echo hears Amyntas' complaints but, being a lover herself, is so overcome that she cannot repeat them. Thirdly, *Amyntas* contains a definite element of eroticism. Amyntas is mainly disturbed about the joys of married life which are now lost to him since Phyllis is dead, and he is tormented by the recollection of love meetings in caves and under myrtle trees (A5^{v}):

> Cetera quid memorem nullis intersita naevis
> Membra? quid oblongo vestigia condita peplo?
> Crebra quid Ambrosiis sermonibus oscula iuncta,
> Iunctaque baseolis haud irrita verba pudicis
> Sub lauro Phoebi, Venerisque sub arbore myrto?

These elements of preciousness and eroticism combine with the melancholy theme and the concluding metamorphosis to give a total impression similar to that of Ovid though Watson's means are not exactly the same as Ovid's.

That Lodge had Watson's poem in mind when he wrote *Glaucus and Scilla* is almost certainly indicated by his reference in that poem to Amyntas as a famous disappointed lover: 'Upon her [Venus's] head she bare that gorgeous Crowne, | Wherein the poore Amyntas is a starre'.[7] Basically *Glaucus and Scilla* is constructed on the exact lines of *Amyntas* and consists of a protracted complaint by an unhappy lover—in this case the sea-god Glaucus scorned by the nymph Scylla—followed by a metamorphosis. Lodge's love complaint, furthermore, contains the same combination of mythology, pastoralism, and eroticism as Watson's. While there are no direct borrowings in *Glaucus and Scilla*, there are many parallels that show that Lodge was following Watson's manner of elaborating his theme. I shall quote only one such parallel to illustrate the kind of similarity that exists between the two poems:

> Mecum piniferae suspiria fundite rupes,
> Mecum desertae sylvae spirate querelas,
> Mecum conspicui lachrymas emittite fontes,
> Et viduae vites, desolataeque myricae.
> (*Amyntas*, B2^{v})

[7] *The Works of Thomas Lodge* (Hunterian Club, Glasgow, 1883), I, 10. The name 'Amyntas' was generally understood to refer to Watson; for a discussion of a similar reference by Spenser in 1590, see William Ringler, 'Spenser and Thomas Watson', *MLN* LXIX (1954), 484–487.

> The flouds doo faile their course to see our crosse,
> The fields forsake their greene to heare our griefe, . . .
> The hills relent to store our scant reliefe.
> (*Works of Lodge*, I, 10)

Lodge's treatment of the metamorphosis section of his poem is much more cumbersome than Watson's. Lodge's source for the myth of Glaucus and Scylla is Ronsard's 'Complainte de Glauce' which does not explain how Scylla's metamorphosis takes place. I believe that Lodge either did not know or had forgotten the full version of the myth in Ronsard's own source, Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, and that he worked out the metamorphosis himself in an unnecessarily complicated way. For this reason *Glaucus and Scilla* contains a much more elaborate plot than *Amyntas*. Nevertheless, the manner and the basic pattern of love complaint followed by metamorphosis are clearly common to the two poems.

In view of the close association which Eccles has shown to have existed between Watson and Marlowe,[8] one might expect to find traces of Watson's influence in *Hero and Leander*, Marlowe's contribution to Elizabethan Ovidian poetry. Such traces are not to be found, however, and *Hero and Leander* must be considered as the second main influence on the development of the genre. *Hero and Leander* has in common with the previously considered poems of Watson and Lodge mythological ornament and eroticism. But it eschews the pastoralism of the earlier poems and adds rhetorical arguments and lush description. Had Marlowe finished his poem, he would have been forced to adopt a more melancholy tone and possibly he would have added a love complaint and a metamorphosis, as, in fact, Chapman did in his conclusion. But the dominant exuberance and luxuriousness of the fragment were what affected the later poems in the group.

That contemporaries recognized Shakespeare's *Venus and Adonis* as belonging to the tradition of Watson is evident from a marginal note by William Covell written in 1595: 'Wanton Adonis. Watsons heyre.'[9] As has often been noted, *Venus and Adonis* owes something to Marlowe's *Hero and Leander*, particularly Adonis's sexual innocence and the rhetorical seduction speech of Venus. The concluding section of the poem, from stanza 140 to 199, however, is mainly given over to a love complaint followed by the metamorphosis, and this section is handled very much in the manner of Watson. While there are no verbal similarities

[8] In *Christopher Marlowe in London*.

[9] See E. K. Chambers, *William Shakespeare* (Oxford, 1930), II, 193.

between the two poems that are worth citing,[10] the number of thought parallels is impressive. (1) Venus in her grief runs this way and that without direction (ll. 904–908); Amyntas likewise runs and wanders aimlessly (B4r, C1r, C2r). (2) Venus apostrophizes death (ll. 931–954); in a similar way Amyntas apostrophizes 'Parca ferox Furiis immanior ipsis' (C4v). (3) Venus's pouring out of tears is described hyperbolically (ll. 955–966, 979–984); likewise Amyntas's (A6r, C4r). (4) Venus entertains the illusion that Adonis is not dead (ll. 991–1026); Amyntas entertains the illusion that Phyllis has not yet been buried (A6r–A6v). (5) The grass and the flowers seem to bleed with Adonis (ll. 1055–1057); such uses of the pathetic fallacy are quite common in *Amyntas* (e.g. A7v, B6v). (6) Venus's sighs are blown away (l. 1071); Amyntas's prayers 'aurae omnia discerpunt' (B8v). (7) Wild beasts do not harm Adonis (ll. 1093–1098); likewise Amyntas (B4v).

T. H.'s *Œnone and Paris* (1594)[11] is primarily a love dialogue and contains a number of borrowings from *Venus and Adonis*. The latter part of the poem, however, is a love complaint, and in the last 150 lines (the poem is 800 lines long) there is scarcely a passage that has not some parallel in Watson's *Amyntas*. I shall list here only the most striking verbal parallels. (1) *Amyntas* contains a list of crimes committed by various mythological characters because of love; the list is prefixed by the observation, 'Non finibus ullis | Illum [Amorem] communis naturae regula claudit' (B2v). A similar list appears in *Œnone and Paris* with the observation, 'Loue is in no lawe contained' (p. 39).[12] (2) Among Cupid's villainies Watson records, 'Quin matrem quoque dira tuam transfixit arundo, | Eius & uberibus, quae te lactarat, inhaesit' (B2v). T. H. has, 'The wanton wagge he spareth not one nor other, | For he hath dared to dart them at his mother' (p. 39). (3) Phyllis's death leads Amyntas to feel that 'Ipsa Pales agros, ex quo te fata tulerunt, | Et Faunus sylvas, & prata relinquit Apollo' (A4r). Similarly Œnone, deserted by Paris, cries, 'Thou marsh-god, Pales, soveraigne of these fennes, | Depart with proude Apollo from these meades!' (p. 43).[13] (4) In *Amyntas* (A1r):

[10] There are some, however, that are closer than those that have been cited between *Venus and Adonis* and *Glaucus and Scilla;* see *New Variorum Shakespeare: the Poems*, ed. H. E. Rollins (Philadelphia, 1938), pp. 395–398.

[11] My references are to the edition by Joseph Quincy Adams (Washington, 1943).

[12] Adams compares Lyly, *Euphues* (ed. Arber, p. 93), 'Loue knoweth no lawes'; but Watson's form is closer. Fraunce translates Watson's line, 'Loue can abide no law, loue alwaies lou[e]s to be lawles' (B4v).

[13] Watson's own source for this, as doubtless T. H. was aware, was Virgil's *Eclogues* (Loeb ed., p. 36): 'Postquam te fata tulerunt, | ipsa Pales agros atque ipse reliquit Apollo'.

Et sic illachrymans affatur labile.
Audi nympha graves, audi pia nympha querelas,
Et tecum sinito cognati regna subire
Oceani, totum qui fluctibus alluit orbem . . .
Sic . . .
Fama mei miseri, fama infoelicis Amyntae
Tartareum per aquas tandem penetrabit Avernum,
Elysiia, domos laetas.

And in *Œnone and Paris* (p. 43):

Shee speakes these words as on the streame she gazed:

'Oh well of woe, that canst not wash with water
Nor drowne the trilling teares of my bemonings,
Oh bewteous brooke, where oft Diana sate her,
Beare record of my griefe and ghastly gronings!
Carrie my cares, my cause, my bitter anguish
Vnto the strond where sinnefull soules doe languish!'[14]

(5) In *Amyntas* (C1r):

Occulta qualis traiectus arundine cervus,
Intestina dolens fixum per viscera telum,
Se tacitis abdit sylvis, & fata gemendo
Accelerat, sudore vias & sanguine miscens,
Nec non lachrymulis multum miserandus obortis
Dyctamnum frustra sterili scrutatur in agro.

And in *Œnone and Paris* (p. 45):

Or likest to a new strooke bleeding hart
That runnes to seeke Dictam[n]us flower to cure it,
And, nighly wasted with the pinching smart,
Restes as hee runnes, not able to endure it,
Yet runnes againe when hunters hup & showte him,
Striuing for life, yet deaths wound beares about him.[15]

[14] Fraunce (A1r) translates Watson's passage:
then he turns at length his watery countnance
Vnto the shril waters of Thames, and there he beginneth:
Here, O nimph, these plaints, here, O good nimph, my bewailings,
And conuey them downe to thy kinsmans watery kingdome,
Down to the worldwashing main sea with speedy reflowing:
World washing main-sea wil then conuey to the worlds end
This grieuous mourning . . .
So th' infamous fame of wretched louer Amyntas,
. . . at length may pearce to Auernus,
And fyelds Elysian where blessed souls be abyding.

[15] Watson is here adapting Virgil (*Æneid* IV, 68–73):
qualis coniecta cerva sagitta,
quam procul incautam nemora inter Cresia fixit

Watson's high reputation among Elizabethan poets has long been known. It is, therefore, hardly surprising that his work should have exercised such an influence upon their poetry.

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pastor agens telis, liquitque volatile ferrum
nescius; illa fuga silvas saltusque peragrat
Dictaeos; haeret lateri letalis harundo.

But the source of the passage in *Œnone and Paris* is clearly Fraunce's translation of Watson, which runs (D1^{r}):

Like as a trembling hart, whose heart is pearct with an arrowe,
Runs, and yet running his death still beareth about him,
Runs to the thickest groues, yet sweats and bleeds as he runneth,
Runs, and so with toyle and greefe death hasteneth onward:
Then with teares doth he seeke Dyctamus flower by the desert,
Seeks, but cannot finde Dyctamus flower by the desert.

Queen Elizabeth I as Oriana[1]

N May Day 1602 Queen Elizabeth went a-maying to Sir Richard Buckley's at Lewisham.[2] The occasion was probably graced by a show of horsemen and the song *Of Cinthia*, the lyrics of which represent the quintessence of the cult of the queen in the last years of her reign:

> Lands and Seas shee rules below,
> Where things change, and ebbe and flowe,
> Spring, wax olde, and perish;
> Only Time which all doth mowe,
> Her alone doth cherish.[3]

This adoration of the *diva Elizabetha* was a powerful and elaborate creation, designed as a buttress to the monarchy, which found its expression in the many names by which the queen was glorified by her admirers. Pandora, Gloriana, Cynthia, Belphoebe, and Astraea, as Thomas Dekker explains in his prologue to *Old Fortunatus*, were but 'seuerall names to expresse seuerall loues: Yet', he added, 'all those names make but one celestiall body'.[4] To this list he might have added many more and among them the one which forms the subject of this study, the radiant Oriana, heroine of Thomas Morley's famous collection of madrigals, *The Triumphes of Oriana*.

The traditional story of the compilation of the *Triumphes*, to which little has been added since Hawes' introduction to his edition of them

[1] This article has been evoked by a B.B.C. radio talk by Miss Elizabeth Cole, in which she attempted to identify the heroine of Morley's *Triumphes of Oriana* as Anne of Denmark. For the main substance of this talk see the review by *The Times* music critic on 7 February 1958. A shorter review is in *The Musical Times*, April 1958, p. 198.

[2] *The Letters of John Chamberlain*, ed. N. E. McClure (Philadelphia, 1939), I, 145.

[3] Francis Davison, *A Poetical Rhapsody*, ed. H. E. Rollins (Cambridge, Mass., 1931), I, 236 as sung 'on Maie day last'.

[4] T. Dekker, *Works* (London, 1873), I, 83.

published in 1814, is as follows.[5] In 1601 Thomas Morley decided to offer an especially elaborate tribute to Queen Elizabeth in the form of twenty-six madrigals linked by the common refrain:

> Then sang the nymphs and shepherds of Diana,
> Long live fair Oriana.

The idea had been suggested to him by *Il Trionfo di Dori*, published in 1592, a set of twenty-nine madrigals by various Italian composers linked by the chorus, *Viva la bella Dori*, which had been commissioned by a wealthy Venetian, Leonardo Sanudo, for his bride.[6] The sixteenth of these was Giovanni Croce's *Ovi tra l'herbe*, which, translated as *Hard by a crystal fountain*, was included in Nicholas Yonge's *Musica Transalpina* (no. xxiv) which appeared in 1597. Morley took over both the words and music of this, which he 'improved', for the *Triumphes* (no. xxiii).[7] The following year, 1598, Michael Cavendish used the Oriana refrain in his madrigal *Come gentle swains*, which he reset for the *Triumphes* (no. xi).[8] Thus the scene was set for Morley to enlarge this collection: twenty-four went to the press in 1601 with a twenty-fifth, that by Michael East, inserted at the front. Thomas East subsequently published the remaining one in 1604 inserted at the beginning of Thomas Bateson's *The first Set of English Madrigales* with the note that 'This song was sent to[o] late, and should haue been printed in the set of Orianaes'. Some authorities claim that in spite of all his trouble and expense Morley's efforts were destined to be dashed, for, although printed in 1601, the *Triumphes* were in fact not sold until after Elizabeth's death in 1603. This assertion is linked by some to the queen's dislike of the name Oriana.[9]

This account of the final production of the *Triumphes* thus rests to a great extent on two interdependent notions: first, that, although printed in 1601, they were not sold until 1603 and, secondly, that this delay was

[5] See W. Hawes, *The Triumphs of Oriana* (London, 1814); G. Grove, *Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London, 1954), VIII, 550. Earlier attempts to solve the *Triumphes* are in J. Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music* (London, 1776), III, 405–406; C. Burney, *A General History of Music* (London, 1789), III, 101, note (c).

[6] See J. Kerman, 'Morley and "The Triumphes of Oriana" ', *Music and Letters* XXXIV, 1953, 185–191; G. Reese, *Music in the Renaissance* (New York, 1954), pp. 426–427.

[7] Kerman, *op. cit.*

[8] *14. Ayres in Tabletorie to the Lute* (no. xxiv).

[9] Both these points were stressed by Miss Cole in her talk. On the queen's dislike of Oriana see H. Thomas, *Spanish and Portuguese Romances of Chivalry* (Cambridge, 1920), p. 272. Both Thomas and Grove (*op. cit.*) state that the *Triumphes* did not appear until 1603.

in some way connected with Elizabeth's aversion to the name Oriana. Both these ideas, it will be demonstrated, are equally mistaken.

First let us examine the evidence for the holding back of the *Triumphes*. This is based upon their entry in the registers of the Stationers' Company on 15 October 1603, over six months after Queen Elizabeth's death.[10] The *Triumphes* are entered, however, along with other musical items which had been published and available up to as many as six years previously. These include Weelkes' *Madrigals to 3. 4. 5. & 6. voyces* published in 1597 and his *Madrigals of 6. parts* which appeared in 1600. Inclusion in this list is, therefore, no guarantee that the *Triumphes* were not on sale in 1601. Moreover, conclusive evidence for the sale of the *Triumphes* in the year that they were printed is to be found in the Cavendish household accounts, preserved at Hardwick Hall, where the sum of four shillings and sixpence was expended for 'Morley's Oriana in six parts' in December 1601.[11]

Once it has been established that they were sold in 1601 the grounds for believing that Elizabeth disliked the name Oriana recede. The basis of this notion is a passage in Camden's *Elizabeth*, not published until fifteen years after the *Triumphes*, in which he describes the reprisals taken by the English and the Spaniards over the seizure of a Spanish treasure ship which had sought refuge in English harbors.[12] Early in 1569 the resident Spanish ambassador in England, Don Guerau Despes, openly rebuked Elizabeth for her outrageous conduct. In addition, Camden relates, he 'Spred abroad defamatory Libels, wherein he scandalously blurred the Queen's Reputation, under the name of *Amadis Oriana*'.[13] Despes' activities were speedily curtailed by the despatch of a guard which confined him to his house.

Amadis was the faithful and constant lover of the chaste and beautiful Oriana, daughter of Lisuarte, king of Great Britain, in the Spanish romance of chivalry, the *Amadis de Gaule*. The use of Amadis-Oriana in relation to the queen amounted to a slanderous charge of bisexuality. Fortunately documents amongst the state papers clarify this curious incident. The basis of the charge was a letter intercepted by the English

[10] E. Arber, *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of the Stationers of London* (London, 1875), III, 246. Arber also notes this as evidence for the holding back of the *Triumphes*.

[11] *Historical MSS. Commission, Third Report*, p. 44.

[12] Hawes was the first to draw attention to this passage.

[13] W. Camden, *The History of . . . Elizabeth* (London, 1688), p. 122.

which Despes had written on 13 January to Geronimo Curiel. He had written in poetic vein:

> ... that I am detained here you need not be surprised, since the enchantments of Amadis still exist in this island, and Archelaus is still alive. Nevertheless, here I am, safe and sound, a prisoner of Queen Oriana, and I have no doubt ... this will all end in comedy.[14]

The English government, which was in the process of gathering together all it could to justify the detention of Despes, only too easily twisted this letter to add to its charges. In the ambassador's reply to these accusations he explained:

> Regarding the letter which he wrote to Geronimo Curiel, saying that he was a prisoner of Queen Oriana, he said it seemed very strange that their Lordships should misunderstand his meaning, seeing that any person who has been, or conversed in the court of Spain, would have understood it, and taken it in good part, because when they want there to refer to any lady of singular and excellent person they call her queen Oriana, and, indeed, the ladies and gentlemen of the Court used to amuse themselves by calling the queen of Spain by that name ...[15]

He had in no way intended anything disrespectful to 'so virtuous and excellent a Princess'. Camden is here proved unreliable, for the ambassador, far from spreading abroad libels wherein he called the queen Amadis-Oriana, wrote one private letter in which he alluded to Elizabeth only as Oriana and that by way of compliment.

These events, probably never made public, were over twenty years old by the time Oriana was taken up as a theme by English composers. Despes, however, gives a pointer to the setting to which the *Triumphes* must be related when he mentions the use of Oriana at the Spanish court. The *Amadis de Gaule*, because of its combination of a higher chivalry with the new Neoplatonized courtly love, enjoyed an enormous vogue all over Europe in the sixteenth century.[16] Writers glorified their ladies as Oriana, the fairest and most constant woman in the world. In the sphere of court festivals it also cast its spell and it is in this guise that it swims into our ken in England during the period immediately pre-

[14] *Calendar of State Papers, Spanish, 1568–79*, II, 105.

[15] *Ibid.*, pp. 121–122.

[16] A list of translations into French, Italian, and German is in H. Thomas, *The Romance of Amadis de Gaule* (London, 1912), pp. 42–47; see also Thomas, *Spanish and Portuguese Romances of Chivalry*, pp. 180–241, and, on its influence in England and the English translations, *ibid.*, pp. 242 ff.; on its vogue in France, H. Vaganay, *Amadis en Français* (Florence, 1906). Some attempt to show its influence on social life and literature is made by E. Baret, *De l'Amadis de Gaule et de son influence* (Paris, 1853), pp. 155 ff.

ceding the compilation of the *Triumphes*.[17] Queen Elizabeth's Accession Day, 17 November, besides being a day of universal rejoicing, was also marked by a ceremonial tournament at court. The year 1592 was an exception, but, although a tilt was not held, a challenge was issued by the earls of Essex and Cumberland that on 26 February next they would maintain that their mistress was 'most worthyest and most fayrest, quoth *Amadis de Gaule*'.[18] It was usual for a challenge to be signed with the pseudonym that the knight-challenger intended to bear at the joust. Either Essex or Cumberland was playing Amadis, from which it would be logical to conclude that his 'most worthyest and most fayrest' mistress was Queen Elizabeth as Oriana.

In the field of Elizabethan music the name simultaneously appears in two publications in 1597. The first is, of course, Croce's *Hard by a crystal fountain* in Yonge's *Musica Transalpina* (no. xxiv), as part of the chorus 'Long live fair Oriana'. It secondly figures in a memorial madrigal in Morley's *Canzonets or Little Short Aers to Fiue and Sixe Voices* (no. i) mourning the loss of a person whose pseudonym was Bonny Boots. It explains that his Oriana 'True widow-maid still followeth Diana'. The as yet insoluble problem of the identity of Bonny Boots is inextricably bound up with that of the *Triumphes*. No. viii by John Holmes describes him celebrating the birthday of his lady, Oriana; in contrast Edward Johnson's madrigal (no. xxiv) is a lament for his death with reference to his successors as Dorus, Elphin, and 'the wood born minstrel of Diana'. Another in Morley's *Canzonets* (no. ix) explains:

> Our Bonny-boots could toot it, yea and foot it,
> Say, lusty lads, who now shall bonny-boot it?
> Who but the jolly shepherd, bonny Dorus?
> He now must lead the morris dance before us.

[17] Three continental antecedents for the Amadis de Gaule tilt in England may be cited here: (1) A tournament with *motifs* from the romance held at Binche in 1549 as part of the famous set of *fêtes* staged by Mary of Hungary to celebrate the meeting of Prince Philip and his father, the Emperor Charles V (C. Ruelens, *Le Siège et les fêtes de Binche (1543 et 1549)*, Mons, 1878, Societé des Bibliophiles Belges, Publication no. 25, pp. 77 ff.). (2) A castle tourney with characters from the *Amadis de Gaule* staged at Fontainebleau in 1564. The cartel by Ronsard was printed in his *Mascarades*, which he dedicated to Elizabeth and which was very influential in England (*Œuvres*, ed. G. Cohen, Abbeville, 1950, II, 1000–1001; see also J. Madeleine, 'Quelques vers de Ronsard', *Mélanges offerts par ses amis et ses élèves à M. Gustave Lanson*, Paris, 1922, pp. 121–127). (3) Amadis de Gaule themes were used in a tournament held in Burgos in 1570 to receive Anne of Austria (J. Alenda y Mira, *Relaciones de solemnidades y fiestas públicas de España*, Madrid, 1903, I, 78).

[18] B.M. Egerton MS. 2804, f. 84. The transcripts in *Letters of Philip Gawdy*, ed. I. H. Jeayes (Roxburghe Club, 1906), p. 67 (which omits *quoth*) and in the *Historical MSS. Commission, Seventh Report*, p. 524 (which reads *9th* for *quoth*) are inaccurate.

This verse agrees with the *Triumphes* in designating Dorus as his successor. One more memorial madrigal, also a product of 1597, occurs in William Holborne's *The Cittharn Schoole* (no. ii), in which Bonny Boots' skill as a performer and in the dance is likewise praised. Out of these madrigals emerges at least one indisputable fact about Bonny Boots, that he was dead by 1597. From this arises the important hypothesis that as the Holmes madrigal in the *Triumphes* refers to Bonny Boots as being alive it must logically have been written before his death, that is *before* 1597. This would in no way be inconceivable, for the lapse of a decade and more was not uncommon between the occasion of a song and its publication.[19]

In connection with Bonny Boots there exists a curious poem in manuscript called *Amor Constans* written by a certain 'Ch. M.'[20] It is a pastoral eclogue between the shepherds Bonny Boots and Dickie. Of the identification of the former with the Bonny Boots of the *Triumphes* there can be little doubt, for there is an allusion to how with his

> . . . dapper songs, and deuises quent,
> Wontest thou of yoare to make vs merryment.
> And euermore thy songs such creditt bare
> As never towne durst with our towne compare.[21]

This would certainly seem to be the Bonny Boots of the *Triumphes*. The eclogue rambles on, in several manuscript pages of excruciating verse, to explain how Bonny Boots, on account of his low birth, had been scorned by 'false *Carimell*' whom he had dearly loved:

> His sollemne vowes he falselye hath broken,
> And me, whome he loved, he hath forsooken.
> The dittyes, I wonte deuise for his sake,
> He rendes in peeces and hates like a snake.
> All because I am a shepheard in degree
> Doth he my lucklesse love disdayne and me.
> Ah, foolish ladde, whome thou thus disdaynes,
> The godds themselues haue beene shephards swayns . . . [22]

Dickie attempts to comfort his companion, but Bonny Boots is not to be consoled and refuses to take his pipe and play his own songs. This use of pseudonyms, familiar in the works of Spenser and Sidney for example,

[19] For example Dowland's *My heart and tongue were twins at once conceived*, sung at the Sudeley Castle entertainment in 1592 (J. Nichols, *The Progresses of Queen Elizabeth*, London, 1823, III, 138) was not published until 1612 in his *A Pilgrim's Solace* (no. xviii).

[20] Bodleian MS. Eng. misc.d.239.

[21] *Ibid.*, fol. 2.

[22] *Ibid.*, fol. 3.

opens up an aspect of Elizabethan music which may deserve closer study.

Madrigal- and song-books are shot through with material which has obviously become divorced from its original framework of a festival. A mere tithe of the devices for Elizabethan entertainments has survived and internal evidence would suggest that many of the madrigals from the *Triumphes* once related to a fête of some kind.[23] A large group embedded within the *Triumphes* is linked by a staggering unity in theme and action. Richard Carlton's contribution (no. vii) describes:

> Satyrs and nymphs dancing together,
> Shepherds triumphing flocking thither,
> Seeing their sovereign mistress there,
> That kept their flocks and them from fear,
> With high strained voice
> And hearts rejoice.

Daniel Norcome (no. i) and John Mundy (no. ii) create a picture of the queen's progress and arrival and her entertainment by satyrs and nymphs dancing and shepherds singing her praises. The verses set both by Thomas Hunt (no. xvi) and Ellis Gibbons (no. iii) explains how the queen was conducted to the scene of the pastoral show by nymphs. John Farmer's contribution (no. xiv) builds up a like picture:

> . . . I heard one telling,
> Diana's train are hunting in this chace.
> To beautify the place
> The fauns are running,
> The shepherds their pipes tuning
> To show their cunning.

There are several others closely related to this group.[24] Nos. xix (Ellis Gibbons), xx (George Kirby), and xxii (John Lisley) strike a new note by ushering onto the scene a group of gods and goddesses, many of whom present gifts to the queen. These may have formed the background to a masque, as the yielding up of symbolic gifts was customary in that form of entertainment. Shepherds, nymphs, satyrs, and the classical gods were all standard characters in the mythology of Elizabethan

[23] This was suggested by E. K. Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage* (Oxford, 1923), 1, 122, note 3.

[24] Others probably related to this group are no. iv (John Bennet), no. v (John Hilton), no. vi (George Marson), no. viii (John Holmes), no. ix (Richard Nicolson), no. x (Thomas Tomkins), no. xi (Michael Cavendish), no. xii (William Cobbold), no. xvii (Thomas Weelkes). The verses for East's *Hence stars too dim of light* and John Milton's *Fair Orian in the morn*, both of which have no specific reference to a festival, are subscribed I. L. Could this be John Lyly?

pageantry during the last decade of the queen's reign. Moreover, an entertainment would also account for the obscurity of many of the composers, who would, perhaps, have been local musicians called upon for the occasion or in the service of the nobleman who gave it.

Elizabeth died on 24 March 1603, and the English crown passed to James VI of Scotland and his queen, Anne of Denmark. The impact of a new dynasty resulted in a divergence in the use of the Oriana *motif*. Those who hoped for the favor of the new régime readily adapted Oriana to greet a new queen, Ori-Anna. Those, on the other hand, who lamented the death of Elizabeth likewise continued to call her Oriana.

Ben Jonson set the pace in the entertainment he wrote for Sir John Spencer, when Anne stayed at Althorpe on her journey south from Scotland from 25–27 June.[25] After the queen was greeted by a satyr, soft music marked the entry of Queen Mab, attended by a bevy of fairies, who executed a lively dance. The fairy queen explained that:

> . . . whilst some doe hop the ring,
> Some shall play, and some shall sing,
> Wee'le expresse in euery thing,
> ORIANAS well-comming.

This was followed by a song, the music for which is no longer extant:

> This is she,
> This is she,
> In whose world of grace
> Euery season, person, place,
> That receiue her, happy be,
> For no lesse,
> Then a kingdomes happinesse,
> Doth she priuate *Lares* blesse,
> And ours aboue the rest:
> By how much we deserue it least.
> Long liue ORIANA
> To exceed (whom shee succeeds) our late DIANA.[26]

This show which greeted Anne must have been very similar to the type of pastoral entertainment which may have formed the original framework for many of the madrigals in the *Triumphes*. Jonson neatly explains his clever adaptation of Oriana to Anne by the note, *Quasi Oriens ANNA*, alluding to her as the rising sun. On May Day 1604, James and Anne, following in the footsteps of their predecessor,[27] went a-maying

[25] *Ben Jonson*, ed. Herford and Simpson, VII (Oxford, 1941), 119–131.

[26] *Ibid.*, pp. 124–125.

[27] Elizabeth went a-maying to Highgate in 1601 (Chambers, *Elizabethan Stage*, IV, 113).

to Sir William Cornwallis' house at Highgate. For this occasion Jonson wrote the entertainment known as *The Penates*.[28] The king and queen, escorted into the garden by Mercury, were welcomed by a madrigal sung by Aurora, Zephyrus, and Flora:

> See, see, ô see, who here is come a Maying!
> The master of the Ocean;
> And his beautious ORIAN . . . [29]

The music was probably that printed in 1620 by Martin Peerson in his *Priuate Musicke* (no. xxiv). Anne was also alluded to as Oriana by Thomas Greaves in his *Songes of sundrie kindes* (nos. xvii–xviii), published in the same year. The verses exhort both nymphs and shepherds to cast aside their garb of woe and run to greet the new Oriana. With this song the Ori-Anna theme comes to an abrupt end. The use of Oriana for Anne should be seen in the larger context of the application to her of other images, such as the Phoenix, which were part of the Elizabeth symbolism and were drawn upon and revised to glorify a new queen.

Parallel with the songs of joy to herald the accession of Anne of Denmark, there were madrigals proclaiming the ascent into heaven of Elizabeth-Oriana. In Bateson's *First Book* (1604), in addition to his belated contribution to the *Triumphes*, occurs a madrigal called 'Orianaes Farewell' (no. xxii), which describes the ubiquitous nymphs and shepherds singing of Oriana's life and happy days, the chorus being appropriately revised to 'In heaven lives Oriana'. The rôle of James as her successor is explicitly stated in a four-part madrigal by Henry Peacham which exists only in manuscript.[30] This was written in 1610 and the verses offer extremely interesting material in relation to the Oriana theme:

> *King James his Choir*
>
> Awake softly with singing, Oriana sleeping,
> And leave awhile this weeping;
> That in Elysium resting, she might behold
> Now again her virgin nymphs, their heads revesting,
> With lilies, white, and roses,
> To entertain Phoebus, sweet coronets bringing;
> While all her shepherds from the mountains cheerly loud singing,
> Cry long live His Majesty,
> In health and peace;
> Health, joy and peace, in all felicity.

[28] *Ben Jonson*, VII, 133–144.

[29] *Ibid.*, VII, 139.

[30] B.M. Harleian MS. 6855, art. 13, fol. 37^{v}–38 written at the end of a draft of his *Basili-*

When Pilkington, in 1613, reset Bateson's *When Oriana walked to take the air*, he also altered the chorus to 'In heaven lives Oriana'.[31] The final and most elaborate tribute was published as late as 1619 in Thomas Vautor's *The First Set: beeing Songs of diuers Ayres and Natures* (no. xxii). It was composed during a period in which discontent with Stuart rule found expression in the revival of festivities on Queen Elizabeth's Accession Day, 17 November.[32] Bonfires and bell-ringing became customary once more, and the verses specifically allude to these activities:

> Orian now a saint in heaven is crowned.
> Both bonfires and bell-ringers
> She left us, and good singers.
> Sing then, ye nymphs and shepherds of Diana;
> Farewell, fair Oriana.

This article has attempted, for the first time, to bring together all the material relevant to the Oriana *motif* in English music. Its aim is to stimulate further research, for our knowledge of Elizabethan and Jacobean composers and their patrons remains still far too fragmentary. Until this has been achieved the central problem of the *Triumphes*—what occasion or train of events led to their compilation—must continue a mystery. This study has revealed, however, that the ethereal figure of the Virgin Queen was a symbol of continuous potency throughout a period in which English musicians reached their greatest heights.

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kon Doron in emblemata versum (Royal MS. 12.A.LXVI) from which it is omitted. There are lacunae in the MS. and it has been badly trimmed.

[31] *The First Set of Madrigals and Pastorals* (no. xxi).

[32] See my article 'The Popular Celebration of the Accession Day of Queen Elizabeth I', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* XXI (1958), 103.

Milton, Ficino, and the *Charmides**

THE doctrine of Milton's *Comus* is elaborately Platonic, but the introduction of the idea of chastity at the center of the Platonic argument is generally supposed to be Milton's innovation. That virtue, by that name, is not commonly recognized as a subject of Plato's thought though his speculation on divine love necessarily includes comparable notions. But in Milton the idea stands out, not only as the subject of the masque, but for the difficulty of understanding what he means by it. He distinguishes explicitly, but without explanation, between chastity and virginity; at times he uses chastity to signify temperance, and at other times continence; at one or two places, as in the epilogue, he implies its identification with virtue generally, and as a primary means of attaining immortality.

But although the meaning seems to shift, and to involve ideas not ordinarily associated with chastity, the argument in its behalf is relatively easy to follow. Comus tells the Lady of the pleasures and power she will enjoy if she will consent to share with him the luxuries of the Bacchic world. She repels him, not by scorning what nature has to offer, but by identifying her cause with the right and temperate use of nature's goods. Her argument provides us with nothing to help distinguish between chastity and temperance, but if the Lady's ideas were ascetic to the extreme this would necessarily be the place for her to say so.

> Impostor do not charge most innocent nature,
> As if she would her children should be riotous
> With her abundance, she good cateress
> Means her provision onely to the good
> That live according to her sober laws,
> And holy dictate of spare Temperance. (761–766)

The virtue she represents, whatever it is called, brings such strength

*Read at the meeting of the Central Renaissance Conference at St. Louis 21 March 1958.

with it that those to whom it belongs may resist the enticements of pleasure and indeed any temptation or any danger, no matter how presented. This is said more than once.

> against the threats
> Of malice or of sorcery, or that power
> Which erring men call Chance, this I hold firm,
> Vertue may be assail'd, but never hurt,
> Surpriz'd by unjust force, but not enthrall'd. (585–589)

> She that has that [chastity], is clad in compleat steel,
> And like a quiver'd Nymph with Arrows keen
> May trace huge Forests, and unharbour'd Heaths,
> Infamous Hills, and sandy perilous wildes,
> Where through the sacred rayes of Chastity,
> No savage fierce, Bandite, or mountaneer
> Will dare to soyl her Virgin purity. (420–426)

Whoever is perfect in this virtue is protected from all evil; but more than that, he is escaping death. As the Elder Brother says (452–462),

> So dear to Heav'n is Saintly chastity,
> That when a soul is found sincerely so,
> A thousand liveried Angels lacky her,
> Driving far off each thing of sin and guilt,
> And in cleer dream, and solemn vision
> Tell her of things that no gross ear can hear,
> Till oft convers with heav'nly habitants
> Begin to cast a beam on th'outward shape,
> The unpolluted temple of the mind,
> And turns it by degrees to the souls essence,
> Till all be made immortal.

But not merely does the following of the virtue ultimately transform body to spirit, the declaration of the chaste mind and will has the power to transform the outside, threatening world. Comus shrinks before the Lady's claim when she declares (792–798):

> the uncontrouled worth
> Of this pure cause would kindle my rap't spirits
> To such a flame of sacred vehemence,
> That dumb things would be mov'd to sympathize,
> And the brute Earth would lend her nerves, and shake,
> Till all thy magick structures rear'd so high,
> Were shatter'd into heaps o're thy false head.

It is to be expected that one who is not absorbed in the life of the senses, according to this way of thought, should be free for the study of philosophy, but Milton says more than this: he says that one who is chaste is in possession of the means of wisdom, and he seems to say that the solitude of chastity is part of the practice of philosophy.

Vertue could see to do what vertue would
By her own radiant light, though Sun and Moon
Were in the flat Sea sunk. And Wisdoms self
Oft seeks to sweet retired Solitude,
Where with her best nurse Contemplation
She plumes her feathers, and lets grow her wings
That in the various bussle of resort
Were all to ruffl'd, and somtimes impair'd. (372–379)

Apparently the strength of this virtue is not merely the alliance of virtue and will, or the simple assurance of Heaven's befriending. The chaste one is allied with Heaven, perhaps one with Heaven, as the phrase 'rap't spirits' may hint. Its power is at once inward and supernal, and in act and in thought: the contemplation of the life within oneself comes to be the contemplation of God, act and thought go in harmony, through thought God acts, man acts in harmony with his thought, and the chaste soul remains chaste:

A thousand fantasies
Begin to throng into my memory
Of calling shapes, and beckning shadows dire,
And airy tongues, that syllable mens names
On Sands, and Shoars, and desert Wildernesses.
These thoughts may startle well, but not astound
The vertuous mind, that ever walks attended
By a strong siding champion Conscience.—
O welcom pure-ey'd Faith, white-handed Hope,
Thou hovering Angel girt with golden wings,
And thou unblemish't form of Chastity,
I see ye visibly, and now beleeve
That he, the Supreme good, t' whom all things ill
Are but as slavish officers of vengeance,
Would send a glistring Guardian if need were
To keep my life and honour unassail'd. (204–219)

In short, according to this argument the practice of chastity and the activity of the mind in contemplation are one and the same, and in clear dream and solemn vision the conversation of the chaste with the ideas that take the shape of angels in their minds turns all to the soul's essence. To those who profess this truth, the world can do no harm.

Still other statements might be given to amplify the argument, but this summary is accurate enough, I think, and it shows clearly how Milton associates chastity with temperance, prudence, wisdom, the power of contemplation, and the power of a special virtue over nature.

The mingling such a variety of virtues under the name of this particular one is extraordinary, and indeed it is confusing if we limit our notion

of chastity to continence, whether absolute or qualified, and thus regard it as a 'negative' virtue. It seems that if the argument is not to be wasted we need to be able to conceive of chastity as a central virtue among various virtues, and to be able to see that the mingling of virtues was reasoned out systematically and coherently.

Chastity must always bring with it inevitable Christian ideas, and I suppose that Milton meant to exploit these, particularly in relating certain Christian and Neoplatonic notions in the masque to what it says about magic and heavenly life. But I am persuaded that the Platonic argument is primary, and that indeed it is primarily a philosophic virtue that Milton is celebrating under the name of chastity. Ficino's commentary on the *Charmides*, and in particular on the subject of that dialogue, *sophrosyne* (which he translated as *temperantia*), includes so much that Milton seems to mean by *Chastity* that I think we may discover here at once the source and explanation of Milton's meaning.[1]

The purpose of the *Charmides* is to define *sophrosyne*. The derivation of the word signifies soundness or health of mind. Its history in antiquity reveals an extraordinary complexity of meaning that Plato's dialogue exploits, and the usual word that translates it, *temperance*, explains only part of the meaning and is otherwise misleading. *Chastity* may be better, though it too is misleading, but if Milton was translating this in *Comus* he would be proposing the word as a synonym in an effort to recapitulate and extend the argument of Plato's dialogue.

T. G. Tuckey has provided a study of the word in Greek literature and in this dialogue that I rely on in bringing out certain ideas that have been attached to the word. Euripides used the word frequently in the *Hippolytus* to signify the control of sexual passion. In the *Heracleides*, 476, he appears to use it to signify feminine modesty in the form of chastity, and in the *Bacchae*, 1150, it is associated with holiness, as it also is in Sophocles' *Electra*, 307. Aeschylus in *Seven Against Thebes*, 610, includes it among the four cardinal virtues: σώφρων, δίκαιος, ἀγαθός, εὐσεβὴς ἀνήρ.[2]

Tuckey sums up his discussion of the history of the word with a passage from K. F. Nägelsbach: 'We must indicate as the basis of all moral-

[1] In a previous study, *On A Mask Presented at Ludlow-Castle* (Ann Arbor, 1954), I developed an analysis of the meaning of the masque and suggested that the idea of chastity with its magic power conformed to the ideas of St. Augustine, and that that doctrine was philosophically the same as the doctrine of *sophrosyne* expressed in the *Charmides* (p. 72, note 47). What I did not see at that time was that Milton was translating the word.

[2] *Plato's Charmides* (Cambridge, 1951), pp. 5–8.

ity the sense which makes man keep due measure, in holy dread of transgressing the bounds which confine him, mortal that he is, on every side. Accordingly σωφροσύνη, although on the one hand it appears to be so dependent on εὐσέβεια, as the recognition of divine majesty, is on the other hand the presupposition of εὐσέβεια as of every other virtue. For man cannot possibly pay homage to the gods with true submission unless he recognises and keeps to the limits of his own nature.'[3]

The progress of the analysis of the word in the *Charmides* is intricate. Charmides himself proposed first that σωφροσύνη means doing things beautifully and quietly, but Socrates will not let the definition rest there. He develops the meaning, stage by stage, as reverence, as working for oneself, as doing good, and, finally, as knowing oneself. In 174 C–D he hints that σωφροσύνη is the knowledge of the good, and, as Tuckey puts it, 'the argument [is] maintained that one could not be σώφρων without knowing that one was'.[4] From this Tuckey draws the implied definition that he thinks is summing up what Socrates is working at, that σωφροσύνη is 'doing what is good with the knowledge that it is good'.[5]

Poliziano and Ficino were the first to translate and comment on the *Charmides* in the Renaissance. Only a fragment of Poliziano's translation survives, and indeed he may not have completed it. The letter of dedication to Lorenzo the Magnificent, which was printed in his collected works, is a moving and beautiful praise of Platonism by one not usually included among the Platonists: 'Being so hedged in with the darkness of ignorance, beset by labors and dangers . . . we need implore the aid of most wise Pallas, that is, of most holy philosophy . . . in order to see both God and man by this purified light.' He goes on to say that philosophy is the support of all virtue and the enemy of vice; it is sent to us by Heaven, it is the light that drives out darkness, and it helps us to escape the potions of Circe that would transform us into beasts. This divine philosophy is what Homer means by *moly*, and all who follow it justify their freedom.[6]

I have not been able to discover when Poliziano wrote his translation and this letter, nor can I tell if it came before or after Ficino's work on

[3] P. 8 (from *Die nachhomerische Theologie des griechischen Volksglaubens*, Nürnberg, 1857, p. 230).

[4] P. 90.

[5] P. 91.

[6] *Omnium Angeli Politiani operum (quæ quidem extare nouimus) tomus* [Paris, 1519], sig. Qii^{v}. Professor Kristeller has informed me that a fragment of Poliziano's translation is to be found in the Lyons 1537 edition of the *Opera*, II, 322–326.

the *Charmides* which, though it was first printed in 1484, circulated in manuscript some years previously.[7] Ficino's translation was preceded by a commentary of about two folio pages, which he called an epitome. This gives his interpretation of the dialogue, and if the philological analysis is not as persistent as Tuckey's, it is nevertheless searching and illuminating, and in his expression of Socrates' doctrine Ficino presents an argument that corresponds quite closely to that of Milton's *Comus*.

I offer here a translation of the major part of the epitome, translating Ficino's word *temperantia* with the original *sophrosyne* of the *Charmides* in order to avoid the limited meaning of the English word *temperance*.[8]

It is the endeavor of Socrates in this dialogue to exhort everyone indeed to *sophrosyne*, but he has three groups especially in mind—the young, those of noble birth, and the beautiful. He addresses the young because healing should be applied quickly to all ills. . . . He addresses those who are nobly born as well to show that true nobility resides in virtue as to emphasize that those of noble birth ever provide an example to others; and since it is they who are always being taken into the government, it is greatly to the detriment of all if they should prove evil. And finally he addresses the beautiful, because they especially are corrupted by the company of the depraved and for that reason all the more require protection. The beauty nature has given them is transient, and they especially should endeavor to restore to God the author of nature the eternal beauty of their minds (as it was given them). For indeed it should never be permitted that the beauty of our outward appearance should give pleasure to many while we offend through a deformity within. . . .

The beginning of this dialogue indicates three ways in which our affections are drawn away from the love of the form of the body to the love of incorporeal beauty. The first way is this, as Socrates says, through the fact that we do not distinguish between one particular beautiful person and another, but are equally pleased by all beautiful persons; as if to say that in contemplating the form of one body we should not stop there but go on, ascending to that beauty which is common to the whole species. And since this one form exists in many individual things, it represents the one idea of beauty above the many. As in thought, therefore, we advance from the individual to the species, and from the species to the idea, so we are admonished to go the whole way, first from the love of a particular form to the love of the beauty common to all, and then to the love of ideal beauty. Socrates further remarks that bodily beauty is not to be valued for its own sake, but is rather to be esteemed by us as an image of the divine beauty. . . .

. . . the adornment of the soul itself . . . is *sophrosyne* in the affections, that is to say, the moderation of our emotions: in the thinking process there is likewise a certain *sophrosyne*, which consists in a happy agreement of the intelligence with the objects that are understood. It is therefore not unworthily that Pythagoras has called *sophrosyne* the most salutary virtue of all, in public as well as private ways the preserver of society, especially since justice, too, is a kind of *sophrosyne*, a fitting moderation in exchange and distribution. . . .

[7] P. O. Kristeller, *Supplementum Ficinianum* (Florence, 1937), I, lxi.

[8] *Marsilii Ficini opera* (Basel, 1576), pp. 1304–1307. If Milton read the *Charmides* in Ficino, rather than in Greek, he would have done so in the folios that contain Ficino's translations of Plato (1484, 1491, 1517, etc.).

But keep in mind that in the *Phaedo* those who abstain from pleasure for the sake of further bodily satisfaction are denied the title of *sophrosyne*.[9] For Socrates wants all human actions to be ordered so that they effect the purification of the mind, and to be directed towards likeness with the divine and the acquirement of wisdom.

In truth, such is the excellence of *sophrosyne* that all fine artists observe it in their work, and through its power not only is everything beneath the moon preserved, but heaven as well, and the very universe, and this is confirmed by the testimony of the wise in the *Gorgias*. . . .

But let us turn again to the dialogue. When, in accordance with the thinking of the Magi, Socrates forbids that the care of the body be given precedence over the care of the soul, he is obviously condemning those who, taking heed of the least important things, neglect the greatest—like those who are constantly seeking cures for their ailing horses and dogs but consult the doctors very little about the ills of their own bodies and souls. The least important things they take very good care of, while they themselves are not well ordered either in soul or body. . . . Socrates also means that many disturbances of the body as well as other misfortunes frequently come upon us through intemperance, and that, on the other hand, many good things come to us through *sophrosyne*. Moreover, whatever happens to the perfectly ordered soul is prudently managed, it endures everything equably, so that finally nothing works out badly. But for the soul that is not well ordered nothing either in or without the body can be well ordered.

In the *Cratylus* Socrates defines the Greek term for temperance, *sophrosyne*, as it were the welfare and preserving of prudence. For he thinks that the lights of all truths are inborn in the mind, and if one looks deep within oneself, all truths will be discovered. And from this we understand why he does not turn his gaze inward who is immoderately attached to the body and to bodily things. This is why from the very beginning there is the need for *sophrosyne*, for it is through this that, the fog of passions being dispelled, the mind is made more serene and is illuminated with the divine light of the sun, whence it recovers first wisdom and then prudence. Since, therefore, wisdom and prudence accompany *sophrosyne*, Plato in this dialogue, as elsewhere frequently, wishes it to be understood that wisdom and prudence also are included under the name of *sophrosyne*.

When he is about to make a speech about *sophrosyne*, Socrates advises Charmides to turn his gaze within, for it is this very turning within that is the fundamental requirement of the virtue. And whoever turns his gaze entirely inward is able to understand what human *sophrosyne* is through the idea of temperance that is inborn in the soul. Then, recognizing the order in which God arranged the parts of the soul among themselves from the beginning, he will know by what method the disposition of the soul is to be regulated.

In this precept Socrates means to add that no one but the man who possesses the virtue can or ought to speak of *sophrosyne* with a view to persuading others. Moreover, it is stated in the *Timaeus* that all good things happen to us by a certain harmonious regulation of the soul as well towards itself as towards the body. And the Pythagoreans, whom the Roman Censorinus follows in this matter, promise that if the soul prudently orders the individual movements as well of itself as of the body, the result will be the perpetual health of both and a long life for the body. And that this has actually come to pass for many wise and holy men both Censorinus and I are fully aware. To this same cause also, or a similar one, some would refer the long lives of the ancients. But some-

[9] Compare *In Phædonem*: 'Proinde improbat illos qui temperantiam esse putant abstinere à minoribus corporis uoluptatibus, ut maiores deinde uoluptates corporis consequantur' (*Opera*, p. 1391).

thing even more wonderful may be affirmed. For the Magi in their incantations actually promise immortality to bodies. In the *Alcibiades* Plato says that the magic of Zoroaster is nothing else than a divine cult. He himself adds that it is not only by means of magic incantations but also through philosophical reasoning that the soul is tempered and the body is preserved from death, either forever or for a long time. An oration by which one intends to persuade one's audience of the value of *sophrosyne* and to inculcate the virtue in them, depends upon two things in particular, the strength infused by God and reasoning supplied by the philosophers. Plato calls an oration composed of these two things a magic incantation. It was through such means that Phoebus and the Pythagoreans expelled sicknesses both from soul and body in such a wonderful way.

Nor should it be thought false that a body that is associated with a soul that is *sophron* and deeply so can be made immortal, or that one which is associated with an intemperate soul shall fall into sicknesses and evils. . . .

Finally, to sum up, a wonderful power is proclaimed for *sophrosyne*, which happily restores to itself a soul unhappily fallen into bad times. There is also proclaimed here the marvellous power of the soul as the means by which all things, good as well as evil, flow into the body, and through whose will the body can be preserved incorrupt. This is furthermore consonant with the Mosaic mysteries at almost every point. . . .

And when Critias shifted the discourse from *sophrosyne* to prudence, by a certain Platonic licence, Socrates asserted that prudence, that is, the knowledge of good and evil, is the means of achieving the greatest happiness because it points out both the good end and the good means to that end; because all things and arts work to our advantage to the degree that they are regulated by this virtue, and they do not work out well when they are not so regulated.

Lastly, Socrates teaches that nothing is more difficult either to define or to find comparisons for than *sophrosyne*. The difficulty of definition comes from this, that *sophrosyne* is hardly to be distinguished from the other virtues, of which it is a kind of harmony. And in addition, it is as difficult to understand and to express in words as it is to achieve within oneself, and particularly since from the association with our bodies we are inclined to pleasure and intemperance, and are even nourished from infancy by these things, we attain *sophrosyne* but with great difficulty. . . .

Socrates is accordingly right when he says, as well in the epilogue as in the exordium, that in order to acquire *sophrosyne*, which is so like a heavenly harmony, we need a celestial and divine virtue infused as well into our minds as into our thinking and words. And he also warns us that we should endeavor to practise *sophrosyne*, having become *sophron* through lawful practices, rather than only to dispute about it according to dialectical reasoning. And since it is understood only with the greatest difficulty, even so, if it is not put into practice it not merely does no good but is indeed prejudicial. And what is more important still, unless it is truly mastered it cannot be perfectly understood. For it is not permitted that one who is impure shall attain the purest thing of all.

Still something further is to be gained, I think, in considering the relationship of this epitome to *Comus*, by calling special attention to a few parallels or similarities.

This epitome agrees with *Comus* in presenting a key virtue which is at once virtuous action and the contemplation of the soul within one. This turning inward to the divine light within oneself is the procedure of divine philosophy; it turns us to the saving truth. It is the purgation of

darkness, and is at one with the power of divinity itself in conferring purity and immortality even upon the body.

The epitome brings to bear still other ideas important to Plato, especially ones relating to the scale by which we ascend to the love of the eternal Ideas, but these are not systematically related to the main argument. Milton in *Comus*, in the epilogue particularly, also appears to refer to the stages of ascent to the Ideas, but the scheme there also is suggested rather than defined and is not systematically related to the poem's central doctrine.

To bring out further something of the similarity of the two works, I think it may be useful to compare certain particular passages.

Milton speaks of the sister and her two brothers as 'A noble Peer[s] . . . fair off-spring nurs't in Princely lore' and of 'their tender age' (ll. 31, 34, 40). Ficino says that the *Charmides* is directed especially at 'adolescentes, & nobiles, atque pulchros' (p. 1304), and to those who are noble especially because they will be rulers and will need the virtue particularly. A similar future is expected for Milton's young people, I suppose, as the phrase 'Princely lore' suggests. That true nobility is in virtue ('ueram in uirtute nobilitatem', p. 1304) is to the same effect as Milton's reminder of 'the crown that Vertue gives' (l. 9).

The danger of sensuality Milton in part presents as the soul's loss of 'The divine property of her first being' (l. 468), and when the harm is done, 'Th' express resemblance of the gods, is chang'd' (l. 69). Ficino puts the same idea positively, that the soul must keep its original stamp and return it unspoiled to God: 'Præterea formosi studere debent, ut quemadmodum natura corpori breuem tradidit pulchritudinem, sic ipsi uicissim Deo naturæ autori, sempiternam animi restituant pulchritudinem' (p. 1304).[10]

Ficino's summary, 'in cogitatione quædam similiter est temperantia,

[10] Ficino elsewhere expresses this same doctrine in terms still closer to Milton's: 'Existimant enim sanctam animi puritatem esse quasi symbolum characteremque diuinum, quo custodiaris adeò ut nihil patiaris ab illis quibus ipse propinquas dum eos sacrificando concilias. Quando enim contra sis affectus atque illi quibus sacrificia operaris, sisque purior ideoque diuinior, te & corpore, & animo indemnem perseuerare, pura scilicet sanctimonia uelut arce munitum. Quamobrem fascinatoribus etiam ueneficisque necessaria uisa est eiusmodi cautio per quam sint à discrimine tutiores, neque tamen penitus tuti esse possunt, lasciuiæ namque gratia consueuerunt dæmones improbos compellare. Quapropter non ueneficorum incantatorumque propria est puritas atque sanctimonia, sed diuinorum certè uirorum contemplantiumque diuina. Iam uerò castitas abstinentiaque suas passim obseruatores contra malos dæmones diuina familiaritate tuetur' (*Epistolarum, Liber VIII* [*Opera*, p. 878]).

in quadam intelligentiæ cum rebus quæ intelliguntur concinna congruitate consistens' (p. 1305), conforms to the Lady's statement (701–704),

> none
> But such as are good men can give good things,
> And that which is not good, is not delicious
> To a wel-govern'd and wise appetite.

The Lady expresses (763–766) the further doctrine that nature also governs her provisions of good in accordance with the principle of temperance:

> she good cateress
> Means her provision onely to the good
> That live according to her sober laws,
> And holy dictate of spare Temperance.

Ficino at another place (*In Gorgiam epitome* [*Opera*, p. 1318]) expresses this same idea in more detail: 'Socrates autem mox ad demonstrandum sese accingit, temperantiam non opinione humana, sed ordine naturæ constare. Profectò naturalis ordo requirit, ut inferiores animæ partes superioribus pareant, totusque animus consonans undique sit & pulcher, neque agat frustra, sed finem propositum consequatur, qualis est habitus uitaque temperati.'

At several places in the *Mask* Milton speaks of the light within the mind and the visions, whether image or reality, to be seen there. Virtue can see by its own light (372–373), and stirred by the most serious needs the mind discovers within itself creatures like angels, Faith and Hope and Chastity, seen visibly in all their truth (212–215). Ficino's commentary has a clear expression of the same doctrine. He does not in this epitome name the truths that are seen, however (p. 1305): 'Exponit autem in Cratylo nomen temperantiæ Græcum Sophrosynen, quasi salutem quandam conseruationemque prudentiæ. Putat enim animo uerorum lumina omnium innata fuisse, ideoque si in seipsum prorsus inspiciat, uera in se omnia conspecturum. At uerò quò minus inspiciat, in causa est immoderatus ad corpus corporeaque affectus: quò fit ut temperantia opus sit in primis, per quam expulsa perturbationum caligine mens facta serenior, diuini solis lumine abundè circumfundatur, unde sapientiam primò recuperet, deinde prudentiam adipiscatur. Quoniam igitur temperantiam sapientia prudentiaque comitatur, ideò Plato saepe alibi, & in hoc dialogo sub ipso temperantiæ nomine sapientiam quoque uult & prudentiam contineri.' Elsewhere, in translating Plotinus, Ficino says that temperance and justice may be seen as divine images within the

mind: 'Anima enim non extra currens temperantiam perspicit & iustitiam . . . velut diuinas imagines in se sitas iam intuetur.'[11]

The idea in *Comus* that the chaste and philosophic mind through contemplation turns the body to immortal essence, and that dissipation 'Imbodies, and imbrutes' (467) the soul is a doctrine Plato expresses at many points, but in this epitome it is briefly condensed with particular reference to the virtue the dialogue concerns: 'Neque uerò falsum putari debet, corpus sub anima penitus temperata immortale effici posse, & sub intemperata in morbos, & mala labi' (p. 1306). He further expresses (p. 1306) the idea that the restoration of the soul to what is incorruptible comes about through the infusion of divine power: 'Denique, ut summatim dicam, mira in hoc uirtus temperantiæ declaratur, quod animum infœliciter in deteriora prolapsum, fœliciter sibi ipsi restituit. Declaratur & mira potestas animi, à quo omnia tam bona, quam mala in corpus defluant, & quo uolente corpus seruari ualeat incorruptum. Quod quidem Mosaicis mysteriis ferè undique consonat.'[12]

Ficino speaks of the *Charmides* as including an *exordium* and an *epilogus*. There are no mythological or figurative illustrations in either of these, but his analysis of the epilogue of the *Charmides* (an extended summary of the uncertainties that have not yet been explained) expresses part of the substance of the epilogue of *Comus*: 'Quamobrem non iniuria Socrates tam in epilogo, quam in exordio ad temperantiam cœlesti harmoniæ

[11] *Plotini Platonicorum facile coryphæi operum philosophicorum omnium libri* (Basel, 1580), p. 465. Plotinus's words, σωφροσύνην καθορᾷ καὶ δικαιοσύνην (*Enneads*, IV.7.10) are a quotation of the *Phaedrus* 247 D. The good images had come into the Lady's mind after the bad ones, phantasies and airy shapes, had been dispelled. Platonic doctrine and Ficino's interpretation of that explain this as part of the nature of the activity of demons in the world and the imagination: 'Primo quidem à perturbationibus per moralis disciplinæ purgationem, deinde à sensibus atque ipsa imaginatione per contemplationis ipsius intentionem. Medici sapientes duplici utuntur purgatione, prima quidem leniendo. . . . Non enim interiores imaginationis morbos, id est, deceptiones extirpat. Sequitur purgatio specularix imaginationis quandoque pro uiribus discutiens nebulas. . . . Sed cum multa quæ a corpore animo inferuntur incommoda numerasset, subiunxit extremum maximumque malorum esse fallaciam illam, qua imaginatio mentem ad incorporea se eleuantem, interim ad imagines quasdam corporum sæpissime distrahit, cogitque ipsa modo quodam corporeo cogitare' (*In Phædonem epitome*, pp. 1390–1391).

[12] Compare also *In Protagoram epitome*: 'Vnde intimus in nobis præsidet iudex, inextinguibile rationis lumen, rectum ueri falsique & boni malique examen, ineuitabilis conscientiæ stimulus. Per hanc Deus infusam omnibus legem omnes ita fermè ad commune dirigit bonum, ut omnes flammas leuitate erigat ad superna . . . Quem uero primo appellauit pudorem, deinde temperantiam nominauit. Est enim pudor ingenitus temperantiæ fundamentum' (*Opera*, pp. 1298–1299).

persimilem consequendam opus esse, ait, cœlesti uirtute, atque diuina, tum animo, tum rationibus, & uerbis infusa' (p. 1307).

Ficino also says that 'omnia in hoc dialogo mirificam habeant allegoriam, amatoria maximè, non aliter quam Cantica Salomonis' (p. 1304), and by this he is referring to what his epitome excludes, the occasion of all this thought, the beauty of a person that attracts love from everywhere, the need to preserve that beauty, which is as of the soul as of the body, and the rewards that come with its good guidance and cherishing. It seems at first sight remarkable that he should compare this dialogue with the Song of Solomon, but he evidently read it as composed with comparable zeal and religion, as indeed he read everything of Plato, a zeal of which much, we may think, exists also in *Comus*.

But though, on any grounds, the doctrine of Milton's masque is genuinely Platonic, Milton made something of all this in the way of an extraordinarily bold extension. The use of the word *chastity* as a synonym for *sophrosyne* offers no special variations of meaning, though it does offer special difficulties for English. He evidently means to include ideas of temperance, wisdom, and heavenly contemplation as parts of the meaning of the word. At the same time he distinguishes chastity from virginity, in a necessarily Christian context (that is, I believe that the reference to virginity as a mysterious doctrine [784] goes beyond anything in Plato). But the most peculiar feature is the substitution of the word *chastity* in the triad, Faith, Hope, and Charity. It is true that Speusippus (likewise translated by Ficino) defines *charity* in a way that is close to what Milton means by chastity, 'Charitas, integra animi declaratio, ciuilis scientia honestorumque atque utilium, scientia iustitiam inducens in rempublicam'.[13] And the interpretaion of Enrico Turolla that by *sophrosyne* Plato is actually presenting an idea of love accords precisely with what I believe Milton is saying in the *Mask*—the contemplation of the images within the mind as well as of virtue itself is the very same as the love of God.[14] But to substitute *chastity* in the list of the three Christian theological virtues is a bold change, the transformation of *charity* into a philosophic virtue, and involves the consequent affirmation that Platonic thought is adequate to the most uniquely ambitious aspirations of humanity. If this is a proper conclusion, then the virtues represented by Faith and Hope would likely be comparably secularized. And this may

[13] *Liber de Platonis definitionibus* (*Opera*, p. 1963).

[14] Ed. *Carmide, Liside, Alcibiade* (Venice, 1945), p. 89: 'la coperta identificazione della specie d'amore con la specie d'armonia interiore o temperanza'.

be possible, for in the masque nothing is said of Faith and Hope that requires a reference to Christian theology.

There are two dependent considerations, however, that could justify the use of this triad in Platonic philosophy.

In *Comus* the power of chastity is magical, and the context of the masque makes that clear in many ways. In addition to the claims the Lady and the Elder Brother make of the miraculous powers of chastity, we see these manifest when Comus succeeds in enchanting the Lady and she is as if turned to stone. But even here her mind and will are untouched, and her confidence in herself is unshaken. She is released from the enchantment by the incantations and charms of Sabrina. It is this nymph-like creature's office to help the chaste, and she rescues the Lady when the Attendant Spirit calls her forth.

The necessary condition of the efficacy of magic is an unshakable faith in the magician—the Lady possesses this and defeats Comus; it fails him and he shrinks from the trial.[15]

Magic plays a certain part in Ficino's philosophy,[16] and at one place he specifically named faith and hope as the necessary support of effective magic. 'Proinde imaginationis intentionem, non tam in fabricandis imaginibus, uel medicinis uim habere, quam in applicandis & assumendis existimo, ut si quis imaginem (ut aiunt) gestans ritè factam, uel certè medicina similiter utens, opem ab ea uehementer affectet, & proculdubiò credat, speretque firmissimè, hinc certè quam plurimus sit adiumento cumulus accessurus. . . . Fides autem spesque non dubia, spiritum hominis iam ita percitum sistit in spiritu Iouio penitus atque firmat.'[17]

The beginning of the *Charmides* discusses the proper method of healing the ills of the body. There is the declaration that one cannot cure the part without treating the whole, and one treated the soul in order to treat the body. 'And the treatment of the soul . . . is by means of certain charms, and these charms are words of the right sort: by the use of such words is [*sophrosyne*] engendered in our souls, and as soon as it is engendered and present we may easily secure health to the head, and to the rest of the body also.'[18]

I suppose the power of such a healer also rests on faith, as well as science, but in the *Charmides* Socrates says nothing explicit on this point.

[15] See Arthos, *On A Mask Presented at Ludlow-Castle*, p. 44.

[16] See P. O. Kristeller, *Il Pensiero filosofico di Marsilio Ficino* (Florence, 1953), p. 339.

[17] *De vita cœlitus comparanda* (*Opera*, p. 561).

[18] 157 A–B (translated by W. R. M. Lamb, Loeb Classical Library).

Plotinus in treating *sophrosyne*, much as Plato does, emphasizes the process of purification and the intellection of the eternal, and for him also, as Bréhier says, the doctrine of *sophrosyne* rests on faith.[19]

If such considerations are relevant to the meaning of *sophrosyne* in the *Charmides* and of *temperantia* in Ficino, then one may venture their application to Milton's doctrine, and particularly since it is he who in the masque links faith and hope with chastity.

Bringing such ideas to bear, then, one might propose this: that Milton means his poem to treat of the magical power of virtue; he will not treat primarily of theological matters, but he will show how the key virtues of Christian theology have a parallel and support in the powers of virtue, and particularly when that is supported by reasoning and philosophy. Which is to say, that this would be another effort among so many that the Renaissance humanists were making and that the Platonists were specially drawn to, to show the harmony and sometimes identity between right philosophy and Christianity.

This substitution of *chastity* for *charity* would then be seen as a responsible effort—not, as too often regarded, idiosyncrasy and narrowness—to maintain the dignity of philosophy and virtue, not in conflict but in harmony with the theological virtues that have been so unmistakably called to mind.

Moreover, the masque ends with the claim—

> Or if Vertue feeble were,
> Heav'n it self would stoop to her.

Which I take to express a doctrine of grace, and to say that God supports virtue and philosophy always, and when they are inadequate to the trials of the world then He will intervene.

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[19] *Ennéades* v, ed. Emile Bréhier (Paris, 1931), p. 73, note 1 (*Enneads*, v, 3).

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